AT HOME IN NATIONAL PARKS: A STUDY OF POWER, KNOWLEDGE AND DISCOURSE IN BANFF NATIONAL PARK AND CAIRNGORMS NATIONAL PARK

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At home in national parks:
A study of power, knowledge and discourse in Banff National Park and Cairngorms National Park.

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Thesis submitted for the degree
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ABSTRACT

National Parks bear greater implications than simply preserving or conserving pockets of landscape. They evoke values of conservation versus development, livelihood economics, environmental stewardship and personal enrichment; they fulfil positions in relation to the national and the international stage. Social characteristics are revealed though this comparative study of Banff National Park and the Cairngorms National Park. Perceptions of space, place and boundaries crucially imply different meanings to the people living inside the national park boundaries and those living outside the boundaries. 'Insiders' are long-term permanent residents for whom being in the park is a practical activity; 'outsiders' include scientists, conservationists, bureaucrats, and tourists, who take various ideological positions regarding the park's purpose. Both sides take a serious interest in the park and how it is managed and regard it as a place where they are 'at home'. Groups within these spaces considers their values and rights superior to others and conflict often arises. Non-violent means of gaining power as theorized by Foucault and Bourdieu, employing knowledge and discourse, are highly suggestive in the study of national parks. Discourse of nature is strategically significant as it influences purpose and policy that drive government's decisions on how the park will be managed - in this way discourse shapes the culture of how we use nature. Knowledge, as symbolic capital and as the basis for truth, sparks divisiveness - in particular scientific knowledge versus experiential knowledge. Changes to the exclusive North American model, such as those instituted in the Cairngorms, mark the increased social utility and inclusive nature of national parks. The challenge remains for park managers to reconcile values connected with nationalism and environmental ethics with values connected with local livelihoods.

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CONTENTS

MAPS

GLOSSARY

BEAR	Banff Environmental Action and Research Society
BNP	Banff National Park
BBVN	Banff Bow Valley Naturalists
BBVS	Banff Bow Valley Study
CAP	(European Community's) Common Agricultural Policy
CCCG	Cairngorms Community Councils Group
CEAA	Canadian Environmental Assessment Act
CP	Canadian Pacific (Railway)
CPAWS	Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society
CPS	Countryside Protection Scheme
CRAGG	Cairngorms, Rothiemurchus and Glenmore Group
DC of S	Deer Commission of Scotland
DDO	Draft Designation Order
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
ENGO	Environmental Non-government Organization
ESA	Environmentally Sensitive Area
EU	(European) Economic Union
FCS	Forestry Commission of Scotland
HIE	Highlands and Island Enterprise
IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature
LBAP	Local Bio-diversity Action Plan
LINK	Scottish Wildlife and Countryside Link
LLAB	Lake Louise Advisory Board
MP	Member of Parliament
MSP	Member of Scottish Parliament
NGO	Non-government Organization
NNR	National Nature Reserves
NPA	National Park Authority
NTS	National Trust for Scotland
PARC	Perthshire Alliance for the Real Cairngorms
PORCH	Protect Our Rare Community Heritage
QUANGO	Quasi Non-Government Organization
RDC	Rural Development Committee
RSPB	Royal Society for the Protection of Birds
SAC	Special Areas of Conservation
SGA	Scottish Gamekeepers Association
SNH	Scottish Natural Heritage
SNP	Scottish National Party
SSSI	Site of Special Scientific Interest
UTSB	Under the Sleeping Buffalo
WHS	World Heritage Site
WWF	World Wildlife Fund

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

National parks specify the appropriation of *local* areas for *national* purposes involving the curtailment of local use in favour of agendas of environmental protection; they exist because they are designed as such by national governments. This thesis engages with the theme that national parks bear greater implications than simply preserving or conserving pockets of landscape. The socio-cultural dimension of national parks is an understudied subject. The objective of the thesis is to reveal, from an anthropological perspective, the complex and rapidly evolving human relationships associated with national parks, and to recognize the importance of national parks in popular culture. Critically, social perceptions of nature shape conceptions of national parks, and this is discussed in a manner relating to Marilyn Strathern's comment that "from an anthropological perspective one looks at the ways that nature and culture can be made to do things" (Strathern 2000). The analysis also has relevance in view of Barbara Bender's stress on the importance of the physicality of living within landscapes, the interlocking 'habitus' of action, belief, experience and engagement (Bender 1993:248), and of Eva Berglund's work that examines activists' actions and reactions to events focusing on problems in nature that need solutions (Berglund 1998). As Berglund points out, based on the influences that environmentalists have on those living around them in the name of protecting nature, "it thus seems curious that little attention has been paid by anthropologists to the ways in which people around the world have joined the chorus of voices who are constituting, as well as contesting, the notion of 'the global environmental crisis'" (Berglund 1998:4). A context of this thesis is the view that, "everywhere they go, anthropologists learn of the struggles that accompany (environmental protection)

contests, yet their reflections on these encounters remain marginal to public and political debate…the discipline should reshape itself through an active engagement with these debates" (Anderson and Berglund 2003:1). The thesis aims to apply theories of power, knowledge and discourse to an analysis of events in two national parks. It asks: How is power distributed amongst the various groups and agents engaged within national park decision-making and management? Who controls the unfolding of policy and how do they attain and maintain this control? Events often reflect conflict between social sectors with different perceptions of who has the moral or democratic right to direct and control the human activity on national park lands and human use of national park resources. 'Local residents' in parks are centrally implicated in all these processes.

Research was undertaken in two developed countries, Banff National Park, Canada, has a long history as a national park, The Cairngorms National Park, Scotland, was in the process of becoming a national park. Fieldwork departed from a traditional anthropological approach in that it was multi-sited, transcended the local, studied up and was purposefully dictated by events relating to certain national park processes. This approach proved to be productive, interesting and challenging and, I believe, necessary to do justice to a rather complex arena of study.

The multi-sited field was made up of: a) the two national parks, and b) various sites outside the parks such as policy conferences where outcomes of events/interactions directly impacted on the national park(s). George Marcus (1996) holds that multi-sited research "involves innovative ways of bounding the potentially unbounded, but also refusing the more usual non-ethnographic bounding of the intensively and usually site-specific ethnographic study" (1996:9). Such research reduces the limitation of traditional fieldwork, as it is not restricted to the presumed

spaces of culture areas. With respect to contemporary approaches to fieldwork Marcus states, "the multi-sited proposal might be understood as a second wave...initiating discussion of the ongoing conditions of fieldwork" (Marcus 1996:6). His interest is in circumstances where the interrelation is not obvious - cases where there is little or no contact between the two sites "but where the functioning of one of the sites depends on a very specific imagining of what is going on elsewhere. The complex nature of the relation between disjunctive sites ...is the main objective puzzle of this variety of multi-sited ethnography" (Marcus 1996:7). A lack of contact notwithstanding common goals to achieve a socially prescribed standard or image is the corresponding situation with national parks. Marcus offers further support for multi-sited research, based on "the reclamation of the social context of ethnography (which) is the most important stake for the current reconstruction of anthropology " (1996:12). The wider social arena considered in this thesis provides such a context not least by permitting engagement with the work of sociologists, political economists and human geographers.

It was evident from the start that I was engaging in events-based or issues-based fieldwork and the boundaries of the field could not dogmatically be geographically circumscribed. Gledhill (1994) delves into an important aspect of revealing social structures through events. He talks about the analysis of crises surrounding key individuals as an avenue for exposing basic value systems and organization principles, "if one is lucky enough to witness such an event during the course of field work" (1994:127). I was that lucky, being able to observe the processes leading up to the designation of the Cairngorms National Park. Events surrounding the development of a human use management strategy served a similar purpose in Banff National Park.

National parks evoke values of conservation versus development, livelihood economics, environmental stewardship and personal enrichment; they fulfil positions in relation to the national and the international stage. As the name implies, national parks are for the nation. They belong to all citizens who should all feel 'at home' in *their* national park. It has been proven that populated protected areas cannot function properly without local support. So, successful park management schemes must logically take into account both national and local expectations. A key question arises: Are citizens permanently residing within park boundaries a special category versus the rest of the citizenry? Presumably they should have an opportunity to participate in decisions that directly impact their everyday lives; moreover, the local viewpoint intimately involved in the 'circumstances on the ground' should prominently inform the national viewpoint. But what happens when local priorities conflict with national priorities? National parks are funded by the nation; every taxpayer owns a piece of the park. In more nationalistic verbiage the park is a symbol of national heritage and evokes a sense of pride in what it means, in this case, to be Canadian or Scottish. The park is also a symbol of a nation's environmental ethic and as such can present an either positive or negative image in the world at large. Commenting on the fluid, situational and multiple nature of identity in the modern world Rapport and Dawson (1998) propose that "home is where one best knows oneself'; moreover people may be seen as "moving between homes, erstwhile to current or as moving between multiple present homes" (Rapport and Overing 2000:158). Thus one notes the emotional commitment to and engagement with parks of 'outsiders' – people, such as mountaineers, birdwatchers, holiday home owners, etc., who accordingly merit consideration in the formulation of parks policy. Also, the permanent residents – landowners, businessmen, tenants, the retired etc – hardly

comprise a homogenous group. It follows that national parks implicate competing social values marked by differing sets of people upholding different discourses that reflect different agendas and vested interests regarding how the park is managed. As well, outsiders at home in a national park recalls Rapport and Overing's description of the tourist who seeks something to suit their home tastes while visiting a tourist destination with the subsequent acculturation of the local population (Rapport and Overing 2000: 356). It also speaks to the appropriation of certain holiday places or scenes as one's own, especially for the frequent visitor, referring to these places and scenes as my/our lake or my/our view.

Analysis in this thesis is built upon various contributions from scholars in anthropology, history, philosophy, ecology, environmental ethics, geography, sociology and law. Theoretical knowledge, introduced as relevant in relation to the ethnography under discussion, is dispersed throughout the thesis. The final Chapter brings together this theoretical knowledge and demonstrates its practical importance in relation to parks policy. Notions of power, knowledge and discourse are highly suggestive in the study of national parks, and it is helpful at this time to give some brief indication of their pertinence. Inspiration comes particularly from Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu whose theories on processes of non-violent domination speak well to the decisions and developments relating to national park policy. In particular, the social circumstances surrounding parks is enlightened by these writers' approach to two social phenomena. First, discourse: this implies the existence in a social arena of distinctive 'manners of speaking' each with its conventions and idioms, evoking either particular communities of speakers (e.g. scientific discourse) or else ways of speaking about some particular issue or topic (e.g. discourses about nature). And second, symbolic capital: this refers to prestige that attaches to a social

position or social ability which can accordingly accrue to individuals and be deployed in strategies of power. With regard to the parks arena domination basically refers to the relationship between on the one hand government/state/park bureaucracy and on the other hand local residents. Shifting alliances within the parks arena are evident in various types of collaboration between either of these parties and the two other pertinent parties – scientists and environmentalists.

Foucault's theories are appropriate especially with regard to the way specific parties in the national park arena control the management agenda through invoking selective/specialised knowledge and deploying persuasive language. Foucault's writings attended especially to matters of state domination, from its historical evolution through to modern times where, as he sees it, permeating everyday life the state exercises power on behalf of the people it suppresses. Concerning the structure of the state, power is a relationship between people, constructed through discourse, based on disciplinary knowledge and action (Foucault 1994: 7, 1980: 141-2). Clearly state power is pertinent to national parks, either directly, when governments establish park policy (clearly evident in the Cairngorms), or indirectly, where authority is devolved to a park's bureaucracy (clearly evident in Banff). Importantly Foucault celebrates a conception of power which goes beyond the privilege of law, sovereign and prohibition and which looks at the objectives, the tactics and the fields of force relations which produce (shifting) circumstances of domination. Regarding national parks this directs attention to matters of a park's purpose in relation to dominant party (government/bureaucracy) ideology. In this respect I attend to specialised knowledge deployed in relation to target areas of particular concern, specifically to discipline park users and residents. Upholding state/management hegemony particular discourse can be seen to function as a medium conveying the 'truth' of such knowledge

(Foucault 1979:46-47, 1980:133).

The presence of non-state agendas and voices, for example those of residents, national park users, members of interest groups, is a critical issue in this thesis. Foucault's focus on state power leads us to conclude that these will be little heard, which is supported by a good deal of my ethnography. For example Foucault discusses how techniques of surveillance result in people accepting themselves as subjects of domination, which is suggestive in relation to the way park managements conduct tourist exit surveys, install trail counters and (especially relevant to this thesis) engage in public consultation. Such techniques exemplify what Foucault calls 'normalising judgement', a process that involves indoctrinating people to what is acceptable thinking and behaviour, thereby controlling their activities through an imparted sense of right and wrong and the fear of being observed incorrectly (Foucault 1975:215-217). Foucault's ideas about the excluding force of discourse, resulting in it functioning as a tool of domination, are also clearly suggestive. These speak very well to the publicised ideologies of the state, organisations and agencies active in national parks which, deploying certain sophisticated language (verbiage), enhance highly selective versions of the truth about park activity and policy. Also one notes the scientific language (jargon) employed during public consultation exercises, disempowering those not 'in-the-know', a circumstance recounted numerous times by national park residents. In addition eloquency is used to advance specific agendas – it is not what is said but how it is said. This includes the persuasive dialogue encountered in public documents in support of (illogical) bureaucratic decisions on human use and national park boundaries. But this all said, one notes that Foucault wrote from his personal perspective as a member of an elite social group. Notwithstanding his insistence that all types of knowledge connote power he gives

little credence to possibilities of agency in the case of the 'dominated'. Yet the way state knowledge is offset by other types of knowledge must be a critical aspect of the analysis of competing interests within the national park arena. As my study of their views, relationships and strategies reveals, under certain circumstances, members of the 'dominated' groups can assume an equal or even dominant role in the decision-making process.

Bourdieu, for his part, was concerned with the way relations of domination are instituted, legitimated and euphemised (Gledhill1994: 141) and how various forms of social power are deployed in everyday life as 'symbolic power' and 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu 1977: 196, 1991: 70). For Bourdieu, modern society is class-orientated; power rests with a dominant class that imposes ideologies upon the general population (the dominated class) such that the former's vested interests come to be reflected in the values and attitudes of everyone. Ideologies surrounding the values of nature, conservation and national identity would be examples in the case of national parks. Importantly, Bourdieu elaborates the notion of symbolic capital, which relates to the capacity of particular social competences and/or socially legitimated positions to deliver power. Elevated discourse and/or the ability to strategise one's manner of speaking to suit an audience in support of one's agenda demonstrates a productive use of symbolic capital as evidenced in the communicative dimension of discourse that is employed skilfully by politicians and political influencers in both research sites.

Bourdieu's views on misunderstandings between holders of different types of knowledge influence my discussion on agents from different interest groups speaking past one another. His focus on the way the dominant class reproduces itself generally leaves little room for discussions on the tensions in the relations between the dominant and the oppressed. He does however give one the impression that by

employing appropriate symbolic capital the latter can achieve, at least temporarily, legitimate 'elite' status (Bourdieu 1977:196, 1991:70). Generally elite academic knowledge prevails (Bourdieu 1977: 187, Jenkins 1992:107). Yet there are times when specialised local knowledge is relevant thereby raising its value and sustaining the holders as temporarily dominant. Thus the degree of symbolic capital accorded to different types of knowledge shifts depending on the circumstance. In effect, symbolic capital shifts from one group to another, as each group enjoys success in advancing its own agenda and suppressing the agenda of others. Regarding the Cairngorms National Park we see this occurring with the conservationists' deployment of selective sources of knowledge to promote the expansion of park boundaries in opposition to government's proposal for more restricted boundaries.

For Bourdieu the understanding of relationships of domination importantly rests with 'habitus', an individual's state of mind and body that disposes them to act in a particular way. In Bourdieu's terms 'habitus' identifies (and classifies) members of the various social groups. Your relation to the land, your heritage, and the type of knowledge you possess shape 'who you are – via 'habitus' the corresponding social attributes are embodied and become a durable way of standing, speaking, walking, and thereby a way of feeling and thinking (Bourdieu 1990: 69-70, 1972:72). This reproduces the historic conditions that shaped the cognitive and meaning structures in the first place; therefore, the body is the site of incorporated history and also the site of reproduction of the 'habitus'. According to Bourdieu systems of domination are reproduced over time because of the way, already predisposed to act in a certain way and pursue certain goals, actors experience and are taught to understand their world. Practices, then, should be seen as an encounter between 'habitus' and compatible fields (Bourdieu 1991:16-17). In this regard, one sees how agents in various park

sectors share particular social characteristics and, importantly, how these characteristics can assume degrees of symbolic capital that can be employed in acts of power.

Let me turn now to the circumstances of my fieldwork. National parks comprise the tangible assets that make up the natural landscape and also a cultural domain of values and social relationships. The events-based research relating to this understanding was accomplished through local participant observation, and the study and observation of parliamentary debates, interest group meetings, interagency conferences and local town-hall meetings. All these latter were typically followed up with interviews in people's homes and work places. It is worth providing some background to my formal engagement with the field as a researcher. I am a 25-year resident of Banff in Banff National Park, and, like many residents, I have learned to appreciate the broader definition of 'who' and 'what' is 'at home' in national parks. I have been employed for as many years with Parks Canada, the government agency responsible for managing the park. It was in this capacity that, during the summer of 2000, a delegate from Scotland approached me, interested in learning more about the Canadian national parks system as a step towards advising colleagues who were in the throes of creating Scotland's first national parks. I had at this point submitted a research proposal concerning national parks policy and administration, to investigate whether a 'new-improved' model of inclusive management was replacing the traditional North American exclusive model of management. The first type of model purposefully recognizes indigenous livelihoods in park management structures and decision-making, whereas in the second type local residents find a presence in the park only in connection specifically with park activities and facilities and therefore are entitled to enjoy relatively little 'say' in management decisions. Banff National

Park, with its two communities that are home to over 12,000 people, provides evidence of over 100 years of national park management founded on the North American model. The Cairngorms, with its twenty-eight communities and 18,000 people, offers a comparative site to illustrate the changing ethos of national park management reflected in the inclusive model. Banff National Park lands are publicly owned, Cairngorms National Park lands are privately owned. Both sites are in developed countries and they are historically connected. Where the Scots were responsible for many of the cultural and moral attributes of western Canada, Canada set the stage for national parks. In John Muir, the Scots born 'father of national parks', there is symbolism of what was once borrowed now being returned. So it was that a comparative study of Banff and the Cairngorms was embarked upon in autumn 2000. Relating to both sites informants were selected for their shared interests and involvement with the national park, through residency, choice or occupation. To the best of my ability I have represented people in the terms they revealed to me over the course of the fieldwork.

Conducting interviews in Banff presented very few problems. People wanted to talk, to the extent that I often felt I was their sounding board, a circumstance no doubt linked to my post with Parks Canada and an assumption that I exercised some influence with senior managers. Interviews were specific to current problems and issues which both parties to the interview possessed sufficient knowledge of to allow the conversation to be conducted at a level of 'understood' opinion and analysis. As a long-term resident, I was aware of the context - a distinct advantage of studying at home. My position with Parks Canada afforded access to private documents and closed meetings, a circumstance that, curiously enough, repeated itself in Scotland.

Upon first entering the field in the Cairngorms, I harboured certain

expectations. I admit I was idealistic, imagining that the 'new' approach to national park management - opening the door to the public and, in particular, resident involvement - would allay problems associated with the traditional management model that largely excluded local involvement and forced inappropriate decisions on local populations. As the thesis reveals, I was naïve. Upon becoming more familiar with the field and its wider context I saw things very differently. One of the aims of the thesis is to reveal that extent to which, in the Cairngorms as well in Banff, 'managerial discourse' has a manipulative and silencing effect in relation to the 'local voice'. While it was tempting to focus on the local area within the park, if only because I would rather be in the Cairngorms than at a meeting in Aberdeen or Edinburgh, I was cognizant that to limit research in this way would run the danger of presenting as universal what were culturally specific and local sets of values particular toa 'local population'. I realised I needed to broaden the boundaries for potential informants in both a geographic and social sense. The same would have to be the case with Banff.

Upon arriving in Scotland in September 2000, the Scottish delegate I met in Banff introduced me to colleagues and members of the Scottish Natural Heritage (SNH), the quasi-governmental body tasked with advising the newly formed Scottish Executive on matters of the environment, in particular the formation of Scotland's first national parks. The Cairngorms National Park was then in its formative stage and an extensive public consultation process on the park proposal was about to begin. I was contracted by SNH to conduct an independent assessment of the consultation process. The contract lasted six months and proved to be a very fortunate experience. Situated as a researcher gathering information for the benefit of the future national park and the directly affected communities opened doors to a wealth of informants at

local, regional and national levels. As well, I felt I was now 'connected' to the government-based authorities in both research sites, providing a more balanced approach to the comparative study.

People in the Cairngorms, more so than in Banff, were acutely aware of their own and others' social positions, often based on the area where they were born or on their ideological commitments. Individuals were not positioned in simple ways, confirming that the 'homogenous community' does not exist. Insider/outsider divisions were highly relative and I had to be conscious which 'side' I was entering; farmers were politicians, community councillors were conservationists, MPs were landowners, and many people no longer reside in their natal communities of origin, having in their lifetime either moved into the park area from outside or else moved out of the park all the while retaining an interest in it. Controversy over park boundaries and planning powers divided people and for me to get individuals to speak freely they had to know I would not be running to 'the opposition' with information. On the other hand I was conscious that in certain situations it was anticipated that I would, and should, act as a messenger. Through meeting with officials at executive, middle management and field levels, I was learning more about the factors affecting the future of the national park than most of the officials, who were restricted by time, access or other commitments. As rumours around boundary and planning issues began to surface and controversy mounted, I was, at times, asked to share what I had learned. I suspect that the approach government decision-makers took with most controversial issues, an approach that was typically neither timely nor unequivocal, instigated *my* role as an informant. While collecting data for the assessment on the public consultation, I had to be constantly aware of local sentiment towards SNH and government in general.

Matters of reflexivity and of the researcher's relationship to the field are aspects of fieldwork that I considered carefully. Throughout fieldwork I had a constant nagging sense that I was at times too close and at other times too far from the field, or that in my selection of informants and slant on interviews I was being 'unfair' to the field. I was grateful to Charlotte Aull Davis for providing clarification and support. She states: "While investigation and research typically takes place outside ourselves, we cannot research something with which we have no contact, something from which we are completely isolated" (1999:3). Confidence that my background would contribute to reliable and informed fieldwork did not eliminate some interesting pitfalls, particularly in the Cairngorms where I was often mis-represented as an expert. On a few of the occasions when I was introduced during a Cairngorms event as a national parks expert from Banff, Canada, I sensed that I was 'social capital' used to demonstrate the thoroughness of the organizing committee. While this perceived 'expert' status served to broker access to informants at senior levels of organizations, allowing me to 'study-up', it further raised my concerns that I was influencing the field. As a participant-observer at public meetings, I was called upon to offer my opinion. A BBC radio reporter, doing a story on the national park public consultation process, reported my views on the success of the consultation process. My concerns over me having excessive influence gained considerable momentum with the publication of my report on the consultation process. It was viewed by the communities as favouring them, and viewed by SNH as doing the trick to secure approval for future rounds of similarly comprehensive consultation. Various parties later used the report as evidence to support this sort of consultation when the Scottish Executive were reluctant to continue with it due to the considerable costs in time and money. Cleary I had to be conscious of artefacts of my (the researcher's) presence

and the influence the research process was having on the field - a complex and challenging task.

Years ago an experienced anthropologist, and friend, issued a warning against events or process-driven research since it means time in the field is dictated by the rate of progress being made to complete someone else's agenda. When the process being researched stalls, as did Cairngorms park developments in the spring of 2003, one is potentially faced with suffering frustration and postponement of one's own progress. My situation was more fortunate in that I was able to expand my research into other relevant fields. I focused more of my time in the Cairngorms hinterland, for example becoming better acquainted with gamekeepers and the issues of red deer management - issues that will undoubtedly occupy much of the national park's time and energy. I also had the option of returning to Banff to pick up on more fieldwork there.

Referring to the fieldwork conducted in Banff National Park, one faces the challenge of separating fieldwork from one's own day-to-day transactions and long-term observations. What relevant factors are embedded in one's own experiences and prejudices? What on one hand is the advantage of experience is, on the other hand, the disadvantage of having to challenge one's objectivity. As fieldwork focussed on local and national situations of power and analysed current local events, some members of my home community will be interested in reading my thesis. Interest may even be triggered by the 'localness' of a small town (Banff) and its community-style social interactions. While this serves to keep me honest it conjures up an uneasiness that I might not feel if I were writing about people in a location far from home with whom I would have limited future contact. Fortunately I had an ally who was also conducting anthropological fieldwork in Banff and who, to my relief, was

focussing on similar relationship-defining events. Her insights and conclusions, as an outsider, were not unlike my own (personal communication, Shiho Sutsuka).

Throughout a 3 ½ -year period of fieldwork between fall 2000 and spring 2004, I conducted surveys and questionnaires, attended conferences, meetings, debates, community social gatherings, workshops, parliamentary debates, and worked for authorities in both sites. I interviewed over 200 informants, drawn from the principal socially designated groups in each national park: residents, environmentalists, conservationists, and public and government agencies. The character of the groups is such that they have an ongoing relationship with the national parks and have a vested interest in their future. I did not interview tourists, many of whom no doubt have intense personal interests in the national park. Selecting informants in Banff National Park was based on personal experience and current events; those closely involved with, and impacted by, evolving national park initiatives were obvious candidates. When arranging each interview I clarified my position as a researcher seeking first-hand knowledge and informed opinions. I was pleasantly surprised that despite my long-time position with Parks Canada, informants were eager to express personal opinions for and against Parks Canada's policy and decisions. In Scotland, public documents and events served as initial sources for one-on-one interviews. Once a more personal relationship developed, interviewees recommended other reliable sources for information who in turn recommended others – the classic snowball approach to anthropological research. With each new informant, it was important to let him/her know that they had been recommended for their expertise and first hand knowledge on that particular subject. Establishing myself as a researcher was simpler than in Banff, though, as discussed earlier, in some circles I was categorized according to my association with SNH and/or my national

park experience.

As much of my research entailed the examination of documents and events in the public domain, disguising the individuals named in the records and participating in events is not essential in the thesis. Individuals who participated in one-on-one interviews are considered differently. Some informants regarded the interview as an opportunity to publicize their personal views, others preferred to state their position but remain anonymous. Throughout the thesis, personal preferences are respected; hence numerous informants are described not by name, but only by their occupation or social position that establishes their credibility as informants on the subject at hand.

The thesis is divided into three distinct parts. Part One provides several perspectives on parks that are context for the descriptions and analysis of the Banff and Cairngorms parks. Social scientific research on parks elsewhere reveal issues that are similar to those I am dealing with in my own research (Chapter 2). The history of national parks, especially in North America, indicates that these issues are both evolving and long-standing (Chapter 3). And I elucidate and describe a variety of (cultural) perceptions about nature available to protagonists in their endeavour to influence park policy (Chapter 4). Informing these perceptions are the contrasting ideas of anthropocentricity and biocentricity, the former denoting the idea of human domination over nature and the latter the idea of nature's inclusion of humanity.

Part Two introduces Banff National Park (Chapter 5) and then goes on to delineate the distinctive social agendas and voices (local residents, scientists, etc) that are heard in Banff, focusing especially on the contestation between these agendas and notably the sense of disempowerment felt by local residents (Chapter 6). Social conflict relating to the place of the grizzly bear in management strategy concerning the human use of the park highlights the fact of this contestation (Chapter 7). Part

Three turns to Cairngorms National Park, and follows a similar pattern to Part Two, with discussion on background features of the Cairngorms area (Chapter 8) and the social agendas and voices heard there (Chapter 9). Chapter 10, dealing with events surrounding this park's boundaries and planning powers, comparably with the Banff grizzly bear throws into relief the contestation relating to these different agendas.

A final Chapter, calling upon concepts from Foucault and Bourdieu, briefly brings together ethnography from the two parks. Its aim is to demonstrate how the understanding of parks processes advanced in the thesis merits consideration in relation to the formulation of parks policy in the future.

PART 1

THE CHARACTER OF NATIONAL PARKS

CHAPTER 2: SOCIAL SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AND NATIONAL PARKS

When the world's first national park was created in Yellowstone, USA, in 1872, natural resources were seen as unlimited and national parks were idealized as "islands of stability and a refuge for spiritual, cultural and physical renewal" (Wright 1996:3). Created solely for human well-being (Halverson 1996:15), they were also a product of the upper class, who managed and maintained them for their own use and enjoyment (Wright 1996:6). There are now over 2700 national parks in 120 countries. Founding values have changed: landscape once deemed important for pleasure and enjoyment is now being considered landscape for preserving, and natural resources once deemed infinite are now considered limited and endangered. Traditionally deemed positive in all aspects, national parks are now considered sources of rural tension (Ghmire and Pimbert 1997: 14).

Academic research on national parks has, in the past, primarily comprised the scientific study of their natural resources. Gradually, the humanistic complexities of national parks are starting to attract the attention of researchers engaged in human geography, ecology, history, economics, politics and rural development. Anthropology's holistic approach to the study of humans in their physical and biological environments is particularly well equipped to connect findings from these various disciplines, systems and sub-disciplines (Smith 1993:1-3, Hardesty 1977: 1, Moran 1990:11-13). This chapter focuses especially on sociological and anthropological studies which have assessed 'rural tensions' in national parks and other protected areas. Their findings clearly hint at the social process I shall be examining in some depth with the Banff and Cairngorms material. Concerning the social scientific study of parks, John Bennet reflects that anthropologists have a vital

role in analysing the way societies allocate and control their natural resources, "since their ethnographic case-study method can be easily adapted to such research". He continues "This task must begin with research on the institutions and organizations that any society has available to make resource decisions" (Bennet 1990:454); institutions incorporate cultural values and attitudes which mediate a corresponding power structure. Bennet declares that the institutional approach is relatively unfamiliar to anthropologists, based on the view the anthropologists do not conceptualise institutions, they conceptualise cultures (Bennett 1990: 441). At the end of this chapter I query whether a national park is best construed as an institution. However, Bennet's assertion may explain why most work on national parks, particularly in developed countries, has been undertaken by scholars from disciplines other than anthropology. For example, William Lowry, a public policy analyst, has written extensively on the preservation of public lands and on the challenges faced by governments called upon to deliver national parks to future generations (Lowry 1992, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1998, 1999, 2003). And Francis Lovett, a law student at the time of writing *National Parks: Rights and the Common Good* (1998), considers national parks from the communitarian perspective, where mediation between individual rights and the common good is intended to produce proper public policy. The notion of common good here is complicated by the existence of sub-groups with differing interests relating to the park, and also by differing expectations stemming from the contrasting standpoints of present versus future generations. In Lovett's view, preserving the common good results in over-regulation, which conflicts with individual freedoms - an opinion supported by Douglas Harvey, a researcher in environmental sciences, in his review of management in Banff National Park (Harvey 1985). However, Lovett makes the point that national park policies are always

derived from individual purposes and values (Lovett 1998: 4-5). But national parks also help reinforce and express national sentiments, and they permit a positive government presence in the public domain, as opposed to the chronically unpleasant one associated with taxes, audits, etc. Echoing these themes in this thesis I shall draw extensively upon a broad range of multi-disciplinary research previously completed on national parks and other protected areas, and upon anthropological research directed at related fields such as the culture/nature dichotomy, environmentalism, community relations and bureaucracy.

The issue of conflict and competing interests dominates much of the work done by anthropologists in national parks. Such research has primarily focused on rural peoples in developing countries who are displaced and/or whose livelihoods are seriously threatened because of the existence of parks. But this research clearly touches on matters relevant to the study of parks in developed countries. Moreover, it is not unproblematic. As Brechin, West, Harmon and Kutay assert, "One of the major inadequacies of the current approach to the issue of residents in protected areas is the limited context in which the debate is taking place" (Brechin et al 1991: 5). Emphasis is placed on 'traditional societies,' 'native peoples' and 'indigenous peoples', terms that are not clearly defined and are meant to foster a distinction between those who live harmoniously with nature and those who do not. Erroneously, "it is often presumed that traditional societies, native peoples and indigenous peoples live in harmony with the environment; modern societies, colonists and other non-indigenous peoples do not" (Brechin et al 1991:5). With regard to research on parks in the developed world, we shall certainly see, in the case of the Cairngorms, that the notion of an indigenous (local) population is a difficult and complex one. Of interest, anthropologists working on parks such as Banff and the Cairngorms contend with

strident voices that insist not only that the indigenous population does not live harmoniously with the environment but also that only outsiders (environmentalists) do.

Marcus Colchester (1985, 1994, Colchester and Lohmann 1993, Colchester and Erni 1999, Chatty and Colchester 2002) champions the cause of those indigenous peoples who suffer serious consequences as a result of national parks and other conservation initiatives. Again, his focus is on the developing world. In 1998, and in 1999, Colchester organized conferences relating to nomadic indigenous peoples, focusing on displacement, forced settlement and loss of land tenure. The conferences, and much of his work since, take a global view of the plight of indigenous peoples subjected to the 'old world' (also known as 'North American') model for national parks which implies the absence of indigenous people from park domains. Jim Igoe (2004) similarly focuses on the consequences of national parks in developing countries. His work was prompted by complaints from Maasai people in Tanzania seriously compromised by a national park striving to achieve the ethos of 'wilderness free of human habitation', with no recognition for the social consequences, including the exclusion of former inhabitants and severely altered livelihoods. He challenges the assumption that national parks are wholly positive, demonstrating that in developing countries they are designed to meet the needs of national, international and regional objectives but not the needs of the local people. Such a challenge certainly finds an echo in my own work.

Roderick Neumann also conducted his fieldwork in Tanzania. In *Imposing Wilderness: Struggles over Livelihood and Nature Preservation in Africa* (1998) he examines conflicts between nature protection and rural livelihoods - a scenario of protection for national parks versus protection from national parks. Neumann's

impression of the World Wildlife Fund (WWF), the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) and other prominent international conservation organizations strikingly discloses how these organizations' perception devalues the presence of indigenous peoples. In his view, these bodies treat national parks as being threatened by land-hungry populations, and their engagement with local peoples is defined in terms of illegal hunting, grazing trespass and boundary encroachment. While organizational discourse promotes greater local participation, in truth that greater participation means increase in state surveillance and control of resources, for "the notion that 'nature' be 'preserved' from the effects of human agency requires legislatively creating a bounded space for nature controlled by a centralized bureaucratic authority" (Neumann 1998: 9). In discussing conflicting views of the ideal national park landscape, Neumann elucidates a distinctively 'western' view of the landscape. 'Educated westerners' recognize certain landscapes as natural in part because they have been trained to expect a particular vision through centuries of paintings, poetry, literature an landscape design. The idea that nature can be preserved in parks is culturally and socially produced in a way that can be traced to documented historical processes in specific locales (Neumann 1998: 15-19). We shall be examining precisely the emergence of the 'educated western' perspective later in this thesis.

Krishna Ghmire and Michael Pimbert's research on social change and conservation in developing countries revisits the theme of dominant national, regional and internal (bureaucratic) interests over local needs (Ghmire and Pimbert 1997: 16). They consider that while ideally national parks and reserves are for the common good, to be established and managed through impartial state institutions, management and use is in practice informed by specific ideology (Ghmire and Pimbert 1997: 5- 6),

influenced by the "urban elite of developing countries for whom the enjoyment of nature has become an integral part of the consumer society" (Ghmire and Pimbert 1997: 8). The difference between local communities and dominant groups (government, ENGOs,[1] tourist interests, large landowners and urbanites) is that local communities, albeit numerically important, retain a weak power base and subsequently have little say in decision-making concerning options for resource management Community groups, unlike dominant actors, often lack environmentally benign moral justifications for livelihood activities. In extreme cases, in some national parks they lose their livelihood without compensation (Ghmire and Pimbert 1997: 8-9). Moral justifications - respect by human beings for other species and protection for future generations – have been presented so that conservation becomes a 'non-negotiable' issue. But perceptions change over time (Ghmire and Pimbert 1997: 5). Like Neumann, Ghmire and Pimbert challenge national park ideals, in particular the typically associated image of pristine landscape and vast undisturbed areas: in fact, much of what is considered 'natural' has been modified by indigenous peoples. They emphasize the point, plainly relevant in respect of parties in both the developing and developed worlds, that protected landscapes are social spaces, socially perceived and preserved; and in their view national parks should represent local cultural, aesthetic and spiritual values (Ghmire and Pimbert 1997: 4-6).

I agree with Neumann that much of what is generally written on national parks and protected areas is done from a self-promoting or agenda driven position (Neumann 1998). Numerous documents are produced by national park authorities in the form of management plans, annual reports, guidelines and studies. The IUCN, WWF, United Nations institutes for social development and environmental action

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[1] Environmental Non-government Organizations

groups all publish a wealth of material on protected areas. With regard to Banff and the Cairngorms I shall be examining some of this sort of material. The IUCN is especially influential as it sets the criteria for protected area designations, develops guidelines for management, works in collaboration with other organizations and funds research, almost exclusively in developing countries. Community participation and collaborative management is a consistent theme in publications focusing critically on current management systems that neglect the needs and aspirations of local peoples in developing countries. This persistent theme supports the respective organization's agenda of having a presence amongst the underprivileged, all the same, there is little evidence of first hand interaction between management representatives and local people or of an earnest effort to resolve the sorts of issues that anthropologists highlight. Members of organizations surround themselves with a rather self-congratulatory aura, with a long list of quasi-advocacy based publications to their credit.

I have intimated that anthropology on national parks in developed countries is scarce. However, that which has been completed again resonates with, and anticipates, my own research findings. In 1991, Patrick West, an environmental sociologist, and Steven Brechin, a research fellow at the Michigan School of Natural Resources, edited *Resident Peoples and National Parks: Social Dilemmas and Strategies in International Conservation.* The book draws upon examples of national parks around the world to inform discussion on "the thorny dilemmas posed by the impact of national parks...on local resident peoples" (West and Brechin 1991: xv). Of the thirty-one contributing authors just one, Sally Weaver, is an anthropologist, her concern being with how indigenous minorities participate in the management of Cobourg and Kakadu National Parks in Australia. Drawing upon five years of

fieldwork, her findings are pertinent for me in that she reveals that there is "much less power sharing between park agencies and Aboriginal owners than government rhetoric and legislation suggested" (Weaver 1991: 331).

Kim Fleet conducted her fieldwork in Katat Tijuta National Park, Australia. Her thesis, *"Nganampalampa – definitely all ours: The Contestation and Appropriation of Uluru (Ayers Rock) by Tourists and Aborigines"* (1999) highlights issues associated with restricting tourist access to a geographical icon – Ayers Rock. She examines the complex relationship between the Anangu (Aborigines) and the national park rangers, concluding that much of what substantiated the Anangu position that tourists should not climb the rock was based on 'invented tradition'. The relationship is complicated by increased empowerment of Anangu, a sense of superiority on the part of the white (mainstream Australian) rangers, and pressures from the tourism industry. The thesis provides insights into the ideological importance of icons, the way people relate to landscape, and risks in environmental decision-making. We shall see that such complications are clearly present in the Banff and Cairngorms parks not least with respect to the iconic importance of particular fauna, notably the grizzly bear and the capercaillie.

Tracey Heatherington examined local resistance to the creation of a new national park in Sardinia, considering events in the light of European Commission's Natura 2000 initiatives and the reinvention of national identities. For Heatherington, local resistance illustrates "how allochronism organises and naturalizes ideals about the environment and its relationships to culture" (Heatherington 2001:291), demonstrating how casual views on a culture's past haunts its historical present. Once again, the uneasy relationship between international and national imperatives and local imperatives surfaces. Amongst the Sardinian authorities, "legitimate local

knowledge and values are associated with 'primitive ecologists', while authoritative scientific ecology and environmentalist values are associated with progressive elements of an emerging global society" (Heatherington 2001: 303); this sets up a road block to viable and mutually beneficial co-management institutions in the margins of southern Europe.

Anthropological work in Scotland on national parks as such is, naturally, very limited as the first national park, Loch Lomand and the Trossachs, was officially designated in 2002, followed by the Cairngorms in 2003. Related anthropological work has, however, been undertaken in rural Scotland and has highlighted themes that I shall be rejoining in this thesis. Jane Nadel-Klein's recent publication *Fishing for Heritage: Modernity and Loss Along the Scottish Coast* (2003) looks at local people's reactions to the influx of tourism and the consumption of culture as a commodity. Scottish attitudes and sense of identity are presented in a context of resistance to the commoditization of this identity and the economic necessity to change lifestyles. The Cairngorms communities are nonetheless somewhat different from the villages described by Nadel-Klein, for they have been involved in, including promoting, tourism since the 1800s. In *White Settlers: The Impact of Rural Repopulation in Scotland* (1996) Charles Jedrej and Mark Nuttall examine the conflicts between long time rural residents and 'incomers', including the loss of local culture through the 'Englishing' of rural Scotland; 'incomers' are permanent residents who have arrived in the area relatively recently often from non-rural backgrounds. They consider people's identity in relation to place, and examine contested landscapes, including those that are designated as heritage sites or protected areas. The incomer/local divide is certainly an important ethnographic issue in the present thesis. Pamela Stewart and Andrew Strathern (2001, 2003) continue the theme of Scottish identity in *Landscape*

Memory and History: Anthropological Perspectives (2003). They consider how people perceive the land around them and offer a poetic perspective on landscape and history in the Scottish Borders. During a weekend conference in Edinburgh (November 8, 2003), Andrew Strathern reminded participants that Scottish folklore is now part of the university curriculum; the Highlands and Islands are seen as the repositories for Scottish culture. There is a new emphasis on re-imaging culture, a Scotland of the mind fuelled by diasporas. He advised that in the future, ethnographies should stress matters of texture, meaning and detail, not marginal communities and rapid changes. I hope that I have succeeded in doing that.

Previous studies comparing British and Canadian national park systems have been undertaken. I have noted two with some similarities to this thesis. Peggy Hedges conducted her PhD research in Environmental Planning in Banff National Park, the Cairngorms, and Loch Lomond and the Trossachs. She selected these areas "due to their long histories of land use conflict and that they had specific management structures in place that used some type of annual planning scheme" (Hedges 2000: preamble). Her thesis, completed in 2000, examines legislation, policy and management body structure in the context of land-use planning and decision-making processes. Hedges concludes that although the organisational structures and administrative processes have substantially changed and evolved over the past twenty years, resulting in today's Parks Canada and Scottish Natural Heritage, the tools these agencies use to translate land use objectives into budgets and spending priorities have not. As a result, input from interested parties outside these agencies are excluded along with recognition of any potential benefits these influences could bring, and efforts to facilitate collaborative management have experienced very limited success (Hedges 2000: preamble). I shall return several times to Hedges' work later in the

thesis.

Another comparative study was completed, several years earlier, by Ann and Malcolm MacEwan. Their publication, *National Parks, Conservation or Cosmetics?* (1981) was written in response to a conflict of interests in Exmoor National Park (south-west England). Conservationists' and recreational groups' main concern was satisfying the national interest for protecting nature and landscape for enjoyment by the public; residents and local authorities said the national park system failed to satisfy the social and economic needs of those living and working in the park. The authors expanded their scope of research to include national parks in the Canadian Rocky Mountains (including Banff National Park) and the Scottish countryside management system (Scotland did not have national parks at the time). They adopted an anthropological approach to research, conducting structured interviews in each site and recording informal discussions. They studied 'up and down,' interviewing local and national authorities, residents, conservationists and others. They concluded that, while "integration of conservation and economic and social development has been the implicit aim since national parks' inception, this has not been possible to achieve in the face of economic forces and government policies pulling the other way (MacEwan and MacEwan 1981: 270). They also noted that in Britain, in contrast to North America, national parks are less conceptually separated from other areas of landscape; meadows, lakes, ponds, woods are all part of the national heritage. Importantly, they conclude that parks' agencies institutionalize the differences between sets of professionals, creating a restricted point of view that hinders attempts to adopt a form of integrated management (MacEwan and MacEwan 1981:276-278).

This thesis contributes to the body of work in a unique way. It offers a look from the inside at one of the world's oldest national parks, then provides an account

of the designation of one of world's newest national parks. Differences and shifts in national park principles, expectations and purpose are reflected in the actions and decisions undertaken in both areas. Both sites are in developed countries where the more popular anthropological topics of oppression are, supposedly, less accommodated by stark class differences. This does not negate Bourdieu's analysis of ideals upheld by the dominating class assuming sovereignty at the expense of the dominated class; the relationship between government policy versus non-government interests is a central focus of the thesis. The thesis considers the respective social relations within an anthropological context. I put a case for culture in place of Bennet's proposal (quoted at the beginning of the chapter) that national parks should be addressed as institutions. Governments may establish parks in the shape of an integrated complex of formal structures and roles. But *practice* relating to parks reveals them to be fields of contestation, amounting to emergent (and fluid) phenomenon relating to the intersection between a multiplicity of parties each upholding differing cultural stances (notably in the form of discourse).

This journey continues with an overview of the history of national parks. The following chapter elucidates the issues and problems of national parks in general, focussing on the events that shaped the description, evolution and development of parks. Activities in single parks serve as examples of what was happening in the bigger picture in response to shifts in ideology, perceptions of nature and wilderness, the human role in directing nature, the separation of nature and culture and the purpose of national parks. Through this history, one gains a better understanding of the uncomfortable spaces between protection for the national good and the social and political utility of national parks. Later in the thesis we shall see how the residual local and national impacts help define 'who' and 'what' is 'at home' in national parks.

CHAPTER 3: THE HISTORY OF NATIONAL PARKS

> "Our national parks are part of the original face of Canada, inviolable spots which provide sanctuaries for man as well as nature. But it is man who must extend and preserve them, this is the task that lies ahead" (Jean Chretien at the opening of Kejimkujik National Park, Canada,1969)

Introduction

Jean Chretien's [2] remarks resonate with the fundamental ideologies associated with national parks from their inception in the late 1800s – nationalism, sanctuary and people's obligation to protect the environment. Humankind's perceived role in guiding and guarding nature reflects an anthropocentric view which, conceptually separating nature and culture, presumes the domination of the latter over the former. Over 100 years of history reveals a growth in social and political utility relating to nature, and a persistence in the view that nature was created for people's enjoyment and use. This chapter begins with a look back at the North American roots of the national park movement, and the critical events that shaped the national parks we see worldwide today. North American parks are not only of longer historical standing but their history also reveals clearly the ideological conflicts whose dimensions are clearly replicated in park events in Banff and the Cairngorms today. Specific examination of tourism and the dilemmas of conservation versus development also exemplify how the North American exclusive model has had to be reconciled over the

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[2] In 1969, Jean Chretien was the Minister responsible for national parks. From 1993 until 2003 he was the Prime Minister of Canada.

years into an acceptance that the human presence is integral to park life. Following this, national parks in Britain and other parts of the world are mentioned, followed by a brief discussion on the contemporary alternatives to national parks.

Parks in North America

In 1832, George Catlin recorded his vision of "a nation's Park containing man and beast, in all the world and freshness of their nature's beauty", as a journal entry while he was in the North American West – he is credited with creating the 'idea' of a national park. [3] Fifty years later, in 1872, the first national park appeared on the North American landscape. Early North American national parks owe their creation to two founding, and conflicting, philosophies. In Canada national parks came to be seen as one means to open the west and advance nation building. In the USA they were seen as a means to preserve a shrinking wilderness in a land where progress was measured by how far nature and native peoples had been pushed back. The United States was more concerned with preventing unique frontier resources, that had assumed an independent value in popular culture, from being exploited for profit by the lumber and mining industries (Wilson 1991:25, Wirth 1980:4, National Parks Service 2001). The 1800s saw the development of the long-lasting myth that national parks are natural, pristine, un-peopled sanctuaries amid extensive terrestrial exploitation and surrounding settlements. A park possessed "the spiritually of a sacred place that one could retreat to when one was overwhelmed with the unfortunate side effects of civilisation" (Wilson 1991: 235). Seen as having almost unearthly properties, the unexpected and overwhelming landscape in the western United States spawned artists' representations that inspired reverence for nature. Albert Bierstadt's

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[3] See "An Artists Proposes a National Park" by Pete Beach at www.msu.edu

1863 painting of Yosemite depicted a heaven on earth, a vision supported by John Muir's descriptions of his encounters with nature in the American west (Muir 1911). Scenery made famous through the photographs of Ansel Adams in the early 1900s became symbolic of America's 'outstanding' physical nature (Runte 1990: 6-7). Importantly these dramatic and eloquent depictions of nature enhanced a cultural value that boundaries between 'human' and 'natural' must be well marked (Wilson 1991: 135). What followed, the creation of national parks and national park policy, is rife with contradictions and compromise (Wilson 1991:223), and ethnocentricity.

In 1872, Yellowstone National Park in Wyoming was declared America's, and the world's, first national park. However, the history of national parks really starts in the Yosemite Valley in the California High Sierras, in the 1860s. Yosemite Valley had symbolic value in what it could mean to American culture by rivalling Europe's grandeur in built heritage and art (Runte 1990: 15). The giant sequoias in nearby Mariposa Grove placed America on the natural history map, and the cultural possibilities relating to the botanical leviathans seemingly had no end (ibid:16). Yosemite offered possibilities for a desired and distinctive national identity. But in Runte's words, "Yosemite Valley inevitably became the symbol of the national parks idea at its finest and at its worst" (ibid: 7). Views depicting the scenery disregarded the trails, fences, barns and houses that were part of the landscape (Runte 1990:5). Native Americans, in conflict with miners and prospectors, were violently removed from the area during the 1850s. This action reflected the idea held by most Europeans, including John Muir, that Indians did not match up to Western standards as humans, nor to the pristine standards of surrounding nature (Muir 1911). Government decided that the land held no economic value due to its irregular topography - public interest in Yosemite resided wholly in its natural scenery.

In 1864 the public urged the government to preserve Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Grove. Fredrick Law Olmstead (1822 –1903), founder of American landscape architecture, and a champion of urban and rural parks, warned the government in 1865 against treasuring Yosemite Valley for its natural wonders only, as opposed to protecting both its scenery and its native vegetation as equal and inseparable wholes (Runte 1990:28). He also warned against the construction of facilities beyond the narrowest limit of what was required to accommodate visitors. Unfortunately his advice was not heeded. Southern Pacific Railroad realized the profits that could be made from promoting tourism to the Sierra Nevada (ibid: 45). The certain economic gain from tourism attracted entrepreneurs to the scene and a series of disputes over land ownership and entrepreneurial opportunities ensued. Motivated to ensure that the area was kept out of private hands – unlike Niagara Falls on the Canada-United States border which was already criticized for its commercialism – it was committed to the care of the State of California "for the benefit of mankind" (ibid: 21). Prospective park boundaries were drawn and redrawn on numerous occasions to accommodate concessions of various types, most controversially relating to the construction of Hetch Hetchy reservoir, the primary source of hydro electric power for rapidly growing cities, like San Francisco, on the California coast (Chase 1987, Clements 1979, Ise 1961:85-69, Muir 1910, Nash 1967, Turner 1987, Wilkinson 1991). In the end it was watershed protection rather than nature that clinched the creation of the national park at Yosemite in 1890 (Runte 1990: 55).

In the 1800s, Yellowstone, like Yosemite, was populated by Native Americans. As fur trappers' fantastic tales of geothermal activity in the park made their way back east, several expeditions were sent to investigate, opening the West to

further exploration and exploitation. In 1871, Ferdinand Hayden led an expedition that included the artist Thomas Moran and the photographer William H. Jackson. They returned east with images that helped convince Congress that Yellowstone represented a rich heritage that needed to be celebrated and preserved for its "open meadows, ice-blue lakes, tame and ubiquitous wildlife and countless steaming geysers and hot pools, a seemingly peaceful Eden" (Chase 1986: 4-6). In 1872, Yellowstone was declared a national park that would forever be "dedicated and set apart as a public park or pleasuring ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people" (www.nps.gov.yell). Chase (1986) argues that Yellowstone was infused with myth that denied the ecological role of the indigenous population, including the changes on the landscape that this population has brought about (Chase 1986: 92-115).

During this time the Canadian government was creating a national park in the Canadian Rockies, for reasons very different from those that motivated the United State government. The Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) was constructing a rail line across Canada to open the west to settlement and to ensure that the territory of British Columbia became a part of a Canada's confederation. The section of track through the Canadian Rocky Mountains was exceedingly expensive to build. In 1883 railway workers discovered sulphur hot springs adjacent to what is now the town of Banff. To offset the costs of rail line construction the Prime Minister provided the CPR with an opportunity to build a luxury hotel near the hot springs. Wealthy tourists from Europe and eastern Canada and United States, attracted by the scenery and the health benefits of the hot springs, would pay to ride the train and stay in the hotel. The motto, "If we can't export the scenery, we will import the tourists", was touted by the General Manager of the CPR. The scenic and natural values of landscape soon evoked monetary meanings as well as aesthetic ones. Designated in 1885 Banff National

Park was truly a park for profit (Bella 1987). As a tourist destination it attracted hoteliers, shopkeepers and support staff who provided the services expected by the tourist of the day. This included outfitters, mountain guides and hunting guides. Much has been written about the history and romance of the Banff Springs Hotel (Gagnon-Pratte 1998, Robinson 1988, Owen 1985); I will not go into it here except to say that it contributed to an ideology that the personal benefits of nature are intended for the privileged. The venture stood well for the Canadian Pacific Railway, which completed the rail line that connected Canada from coast to coast and opened up the west, and which to this day plays a major role in tourism development in Banff and Jasper National Parks.

In 1916 the United States invoked the Organic Act (1916) in an apparent attempt to balance tourism and conservation in its parks. The Act was later mimicked in the National Parks Act (Canada) in 1930, and has been adopted almost verbatim by numerous nations since. The Canadian version is as follows:

> The National Parks of Canada are hereby dedicated to the people of Canada for their benefit, education and enjoyment, subject to the Act and regulations, and the National Parks shall be maintained and made use of so as to leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations (R.S. C N-13, s.4).

The 1916 Act is dubbed the 'dual mandate' for its polarized position of use versus preservation and the corresponding lack of a clear purpose. While the Act complicates management decision-making, the conflicting motivations that it enshrines provides for a broad scope in the social utility of national parks. The 1916 Act saw the formation of the National Parks Service when there were 37 areas in the United States national park system. In 1936 there were 154 areas, each with a

superintendent reporting to Washington, and a further 17 proposed areas. With reference to the United States, as noted by Wirth (1980:52), "there are only two ways in which areas of a national park system can be established: by congressional legislation or by presidential proclamation. Both are influenced by political circumstances." And, "the interpretation of the park mandate has varied widely depending on the government in power" (Wilson 1991: 226). "Many parks and wild areas were created as part of a trade-off between conservation organizations and industry" (Wilson 1991: 135); some were seen as "places where biologists and ecologists would protect baseline examples of 'pure' nature before it was transformed by human forces" (Anderson and Berglund 2003:8). Depending upon the resources, park boundaries were adjusted and lands 'excluded' for economic reasons. The less potential profit in the land, the more eligible it was for protected status. Ironically the lands that remained unspoiled due to low economic value were attractive to tourists (Wilson 1991: 224-229). Over the years, national parks in North America served various purposes - to detain conscience objectors and prisoners during wartime, to secure sovereignty over land (as in the Canadian arctic), to preserve forest from local settlers and developers, to protect aquifers and, in the creation of new parks, to acknowledge supportive constituents (Wilson 1991: 226-227). In 1933, the 'New Deal' under Roosevelt introduced the Civilian Conservation Corps, a make work system that built roads and infrastructure in national parks during the depression years (Wirth 1980).

In the Unites States, the view that nature and national parks should be devoid of human habitation persisted for some time. This is demonstrated in Wirth's description (1980: 49-51) of the process for creating three new national parks in the Eastern United States. For example, in what is now Shenandoah National Park, all

property within the park boundaries was condemned by the state and the land title transferred to the government; between 1930 and 1935 the inhabitants were removed. Wirth (ibid : 50) notes that 'the inhabitants posed a difficult problem'. Referred to by park administrators as 'inbred and uneducated', they returned to the area and their 'shacks' as they preferred their own mountain country to the outside environment. Their return to the park was temporary for they no longer held title to the land, nor were they allowed to regain title. The process was repeated in what is now the Great Smokey Mountains National Park, though the National Parks Service claimed to have fewer problem with the inhabitants in this area because the mountaineers in the region were "strong, intelligent and in good health with no apparent problems of inbreeding and they possessed many basic skills" (ibid: 51). Their eviction was less problematic for the government.

As of 2001, the United States national parks system contained 380 units representing "geologic splendours, historic sites, recreational spaces, lakes seashores long distance trails, rivers and places that chronicle the nation's social history" (NPS 2001). The latest focus is on marine areas – previously thought to be so vast that they could not be affected by human activities but realised now to be in immediate need of protection (speaker in Victoria, British Columbia, May 2005 and NPS 2001). On the cultural side, there is a simpler reversal of park philosophy. More attention will be paid to preserving and interpreting historic sites, to "ensure that the American story is told faithfully, completely and accurately. The national parks service should help conserve the irreplaceable connections that ancestral and indigenous people have with the parks. Parks should become sanctuaries for expressing and reclaiming ancient feelings of place. We are coming to understand that parks become richer when we see them through the cultures of peoples whose ancestors once lived there" (National

Parks Service 2001).

The Canadian national park system also benefited from depression-era work camps, with the construction of roads and infrastructure, and some parks were even created as auxiliaries to roads and rail lines (Wilson 1991: 224). During the war years national parks (Banff and Yoho, for example) contained internment camps where captive labour further expanded visitors service infrastructure. From 1930 to 1970, attention turned to Atlantic Canada, where five national parks which provincial governments had been permitted to establish, were transferred to the jurisdiction of the federal government. Up to 1970, 20 national parks had been set up, but not according to any real system. They represented, rather, a collection of special places, created variously by heroic efforts, accidents of geography or political opportunism, that had been set aside for a variety of purposes - to protect scenery for national and international tourist resorts, to provide regional recreation areas, to create sanctuaries for wildlife, to stimulate flagging economies in areas of chronic underemployment. There was no vision or long-term goal for a system of national parks (Parks Canada 2005). 'Vision' was provided by a national parks system plan devised in the early 1970s to protect a representative sample of each of Canada's landscapes. The plan is now in its third edition; the country is divided into sixty-eight physo-geographic regions of which thirty-nine are terrestrial and twenty-nine are marine-based. These contain specific areas that include the broadest range of local natural themes (biologic, geologic, marine etc). Park planners select potential sites from this inventory, thereby ensuring each park is a microcosm of a Canadian bio-geography (Wilson 1991: 231, Parks Canada 2005). With thirty-nine national parks, the system is just over 60% complete.

New polices in Canada are evidence of larger social changes over the past

thirty years. When a potential park area has been selected for the natural region, a new park proposal is prepared as the basis for a detailed feasibility assessment, including public consultations and direct involvement of the provincial or territorial government - and in consultation with local communities, Aboriginal peoples, non-government organizations, relevant industries and other government departments. Alternative land uses are sometimes explicitly considered and compared and, on lands under federal administration, a Mineral and Energy Resources Assessment is undertaken. Within the northern territories, it is the practice to seek the concurrence of the territorial government for a new national park through negotiation of a federal-territorial agreement. Where lands are subject to a comprehensive land claim by aboriginal people, a new park can be established as part of a negotiated claim settlement or a national park reserve can be established pending the resolution of the claim. New park agreements cover many different topics depending on the circumstances. These may include:

- final park boundaries
- cost-sharing for land acquisition
- details of land transfer
- traditional resource harvesting
- planning and management for the park and surrounding area
- composition and role of a park management board
- regional integration
- economic benefits
- (www. parkscanada.ca).

To give an example, in 1988 Ellesmere Island National Park Reserve was established. Covering much of the northern part of Ellesmere Island, it represents the eastern high

Arctic natural region with a mandate to protect its constituent species and to conserve the ecology. The Reserve has also undertaken to protect important sites and cultural resources of human history including those predating European contact. Importantly, there is an agreement to work closely with local communities (Dick 2001:489-90). In 2000, the Reserve was elevated in status to Quittinirpaaq National Park. This and other new national parks and national park reserves in the north also serve to assert Canadian sovereignty over the high arctic – a process accompanied by re-populating remote regions (Dick 2001: 267-307). The use of national parks to assert nationhood entails more than mere designation. During the Quebec crises in the 1980s and 90s, national polls showed that next to the flag, national parks were the most popular national symbol – whereupon the portfolio was transferred to Canadian Heritage to harvest the political capital. The political meaning of parks is summed up as follows: "Though the world has changed profoundly since the first national parks were created more that a century ago, the national park idea continues to pervade benefits of fundamental importance to the nation" (National Parks Service 2001).

Role of tourism in national parks

Worldwide, national parks shape and are shaped by tourism. Parks' creation and development remains tied to the political economy of tourism development and in many cases parks have been created to stimulate the local tourist economy (Wilson 1991:227, Bella 1987, Scottish Natural Heritage 1998). In North America in the early years, national parks were almost inaccessible to visitors. Gradually, railroad lines were built to serve park areas and roads were extended or improved when the age of automobile travel arrived (Wirth 1980: 4). "The best way to engender support for the parks was to ensure that the visitors 'enjoyed' them and (the Parks Service) set about

providing facilities to promote a positive experience" (National Parks Service 2001). Again worldwide, in some national parks, because of tourism local populations have been relocated (for example Ugandan national parks); in others the local population is limited to those who provide services to the tourism industry (for example some Canadian national parks such as Banff).

In Runte's view (1990: 101), early North American national parks were instituted within a preconception that visitors were of first importance and natural resources a distant second. Wildlife populations were manipulated to suit tourist expectations. Chase's account of Yellowstone National Park (1990) recalls how in the 1800s, predators that threatened favoured ungulate populations (for example bears and wolves) were systematically controlled. Years later predators (wolves) were re-introduced to emulate a wilderness with a complete ecosystem. The following excerpt from Mary Ann Franke (2000) describes the sequence of events:

> In the 1930s, predators such as wolves and coyotes began returning to favor; in the 1950s, Yellowstone stopped diverting hot springs into swimming pools; in the 1960s, roadside feeding of bears was no longer permitted so that they would return to their natural foraging and predation; in the 1970s, the focus of the fisheries program shifted from maximizing the number of fish caught by visitors to restoring native fish populations. All of these decisions were part of a long-term trend in national park management, away from efforts to maintain a park in some fixed state thought most desirable to visitors and toward preservation of ecological processes in which change over time is expected (Franke 2000:10).

In the case of Yosemite National Park, Runte (1990) tells how bears, feared by the park's first visitors, were initially removed or destroyed. However, to

accommodate the public's fascination with wilderness species, managers in Yosemite built zoos housing wild predatory (and other) species, not necessarily North American in origin. Much the same happened in Banff in 1907 (Luxton 1975:88). As society's view of animals in captivity shifted, along with the perceived purpose of national parks, zoos were removed and opportunities to see wildlife in the wild were promoted. Nowadays, the modern tourist expects all wildlife to be protected and a bear sighting is a unique and valued park experience. This experience recently became a subject for controversy in Lake Louise, a village in Banff National Park, where it has been proposed that a fence be constructed around the village to reduce bear/human contacts. Local business owners are against the fence, as it compromises their customers' unique experience of seeing wildlife roaming freely though the village. In Banff, the park is viewed as a place where one should see wildlife in the wild. Removal of, or harm to, any animal carries a stiff fine and hunting is considered a criminal offence punishable by jail.

Tourism is a symptom of modernity linked to the nature of work and leisure. Initially tourism was targeted to a small affluent sector of the population with time and money to spend on leisure activities. In the 19th century, for most people, work was seen as a redemptive activity. This gradually changed with the shift to an urban lifestyle, the introduction of the 5-day workweek and a culture that defined 'work' as a separate sphere of life. Leisure became the time and space where one looked for meaning in one's life (Wilson 1991: 20), influenced by a modern expectation personal growth might be experience through circulating between the material and natural world. The modern working class developed an aspiration to seek leisure activities 'acceptable' to society. As noted by the United States National Parks Service, "a summer pilgrimage to the great parks of the West was a rite of passage for the

American family" (National Park Service 2001). Reports produced in Canada suggested that "outdoor recreation, far from being a fad, was a component of the national character" (Wilson 1991: 44). The contradictory recommendations of both the US and Canadian governments to "conserve what is left of natural areas and develop them for maximum enjoyment" (ibid: 44) had a direct relationship on the creation of new national parks and the infrastructure needed to accommodate increasing tourist demands. Less expensive hotels, camping and the automobile came onto the scene. New highways democratized society, making natural wonders in national parks more accessible to all sections of society (ibid: 30). Pictures of national parks served as the backdrop for the slogan 'See the USA in your Chevrolet'. Nature tourism grew enormously in the post-war years (Wirth 1980, National Parks Service 2001).

In North America, increased tourism led to increased public participation and collaboration in the formulation of park policy, increased education of the public in park philosophy and calls by the public for more sophisticated park management. In post-war years the interpretation of nature in national parks became an institution with professional accreditation. National parks would henceforth be "experienced and interpreted as living museums of nature" (Wilson 1991:57), but "unlike the old natural history museums, these new museums are about interconnections: the links and parallel histories of our social and natural environments. Such places are one of the legacies of the diffusion of ecological ideas in the culture" (Wilson 1991: 61). However, this did not mean that nature and culture were united. The broader social benefits of tourism remained pre-eminent: tourism transcended boundaries, cultures, environment and heritage. As professed by Lou D'Amour, President and Founder of the International Institute for Peace Through Tourism, tourism "is potentially one of

the most important vehicles for promoting understanding, trust and good will amongst the people of the world" (www.iipt.org).

The history of national parks, tourism and conservation is closely connected. To some, "tourism and conservation are a match made in heaven" (Beth Russel-Towe, March 2005). To others, national parks were promoted as a 'must see' for all Americans that became unmanageable (Runte 1990: 6-7). As human use increased, extra provisions were made for the protection of native species including restrictions on human access to popular trails. Restrictions remain to be an often unpopular means of shaping the touristic experience. Employing the 'three Is' technique - inform, influence and involve – park managers plan to create the ideal tourist who cares and contributes by supporting management decisions through their understanding. "It is time to re-examine the 'enjoyment equals support' equation and to encourage public support of resource protection at a higher level of understanding" (National Parks Service 2001). Parks Canada recently produced a document entitled 'Towards a Culture of Conservation' proclaiming the need to engage Canadians in the mission and mandate of Parks Canada. Other executive level documents express the importance of having "more Canadians share the passion and commitment of protecting and presenting Canada's natural and cultural heritage. People protect what they value and a wilderness experience builds far more passion than reading a book about the wilderness" (internal message from the Chief Executive Officer, Parks Canada Agency 2004).

The approach to tourism is today shifting to reflect expanded social values with emphasis on the authenticity of the experience and the factor of personal growth. The Canadian Tourism Commission recently decided it will no longer attract tourists using the 'Mounties, mountains and moose' that have proven successful in the past.

The new slogan is 'Canada. Keep Exploring!' with the focus on Canada as a place where tourists can fulfill their dreams. [4] There has been much discussion around experiential tourism – tourism that needs to be engaging, personally relevant, socially satisfying and memorable. [5] Experiential tourism is linked to experiential learning where people create meaning through direct experience (Pine 1999). Parks Canada set a target that 50% of park visitors will have a learning experience, to be gauged by three to five indicators that have yet to be determined (Parks Canada Agency 2001). A similar approach by the National Parks Service is intended to increase the effectiveness of the Parks Service as an education institution and national parks as powerful resources offering unique place based learning opportunities (National Parks Service 2001).

Expanded social values have been acknowledged in the forms of ecotourism, biotourism and adventure tourism. The World Wildlife Federation defines ecotourism as travel to protected natural areas as a means of economic gain through natural resource protection (Wilson 1991:49). Ecotourism is viewed as both a conservation and development tool because it provides conservation benefit and economic benefits (Charnley 2005: 75). "In theory, by distributing some of the benefits of tourism to local people, they will have incentive to protect those natural areas that draw tourists, be more likely to support the presence of protected areas in their midst that otherwise restrict their access to land and resources, and embrace behaviours and attitudes that support conservation" (Charnley 2005: 75). Promoted as a means to achieve sustainable development, it supposes a shift away from nature tourism that often excludes local interests. Like ecotourism, biotourism is a conservation theme with an

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[4] "Tourism ads to shun Mounties and moose" The Globe and Mail, May 12, 2005, page A1.
[5] The Parks Forum 2005 in Canmore, Alberta, March 17-19,2005, included presentations from Scott Jones, Pam Veinotte and Beth Russel-Towe on this topic.

added education component. In spite of the World Wildlife Federation's attempt at a definition, neither ecotourism nor biotourism have a clear set of international standards. Some short term gain in local communities maybe delivered but it is unclear whether longer term goals of sustainability are being met – in part because local people are not trained in the tourism industry and most of the business is conducted by outsiders. The third form, adventure tourism, involves professionally guided groups travelling to often remote areas, engaging in 'extreme' recreational activities designed to leave the client with a memorable experience linked to action, excitement and getting out there into the real world (www.interpedtravel.com, www.fleming college .com).[6]

National parks and tourism necessarily bring together two camps: development and conservation. The following historical account of the ski areas in Canada's mountain national parks provides some insight into how these sectors shaped national parks. The four ski areas in Banff and Jasper National Parks are considered the cornerstone of winter tourism in Alberta. They currently draw $400 million annually in off-site expenditures and support over 10,000 person years of employment province wide. As nearly 50% of the skiers are from Alberta, these areas are also important for their social and recreational value (Alberta Economic Development 2000a). Nationally and internationally they showcase Canada's mountain national parks in winter. Development at a ski area inevitably entails some impact to the natural environment – to be set beside the long-standing expectation amongst Canadians that Parks Canada is responsible for protecting the natural environment in national parks (Angus Reid Group 1991, IPSOS Reid 2000). The

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[6] These are only two examples of the numerous websites that serve to attract client to eco and adventure tourism.

four ski areas occupy large parcels of national park landscape and were one of the primary motivators for designating zones for development and zones for conservation in an attempt to reduce conflict between developers and conservationists.

Skiing was first introduced in 1917 at the Banff Winter Festival. In 1918 residents cut the first ski runs on Mount Norquay and in 1928 they built a ski lodge (Luxton 1975). During these times every effort was made to attract the winter tourist to the national parks. The primary concept was to maximise economic advantage using the 'infinite' natural resources at hand. The government cleared more runs during the depression years and installed mechanized lifts. In the 1920s, the Sunshine ski area was opened and a road was built into the wilderness to access the area approximately six miles west of the Banff townsite. This was followed by the development of the Lake Louise ski area. These ambitious developments were supported by the National Parks mandate of the time that promoted the use and enjoyment of the park. Depression-era work camps provided extra manpower to build the necessary infrastructure. Gradually the ski industry became an integral part of the local economy that relied upon the skiing tourist for winter employment. Up until the 1970s, developer's dollars were, at times, matched with government funds to promote the development of the ski areas and bolster the tourism industry.

During the 1960s, entrepreneurs proposed a grand development scheme for Lake Louise that included a bid to host a winter Olympics (Touche 1990:100-119). The venture included an airstrip and high-rise hotels. Plans were brought before a public hearing where national conservation organizations objected enthusiastically; the controversy attracted the attention of other Canadians. The controversy's discourses reflected society in the 1970s – it was a battle between the 'tree huggers' and 'money-grubbing developers'. In the end, it was clear that most Canadians did

not approve of this type of development in their national parks and the proposal was rejected. The government recognized the danger of unilaterally entertaining future development proposals and ski areas were henceforth required to prepare long-range development plans to be approved following public review. Further, in 1968, the National Parks Act was amended to include the requirement for national park management plans to be reviewed every 5 years and rewritten every 15 years, with a provision for public consultation. Government acknowledged the continued existence of ski areas but no new ski areas could be constructed in national parks. The existing ski areas were permitted to develop to the capacity of their boundaries but expansion beyond those boundaries would not be considered. [7] The first long-range plan was completed for the Sunshine ski area in 1978, followed by Lake Louise and Norquay. Operators could build the infrastructure described in the long-range plans, once they passed an environmental assessment that, once again, included a provision for public review.

These particular long-range plans are now obsolete – the ski areas have developed all viable infrastructural components and there is no consideration for new ski industry technology. For Parks Canada's purposes the plans neither reflect the current public attitudes on environmental protection nor the intent of recent amendments to the National Parks Act. Ski area operators and Parks Canada officials have attempted to settle new development issues and approve necessary infrastructure upgrades. Parks Canada's refusal to approve further development in the absence of new long range plans has created tension between the tourism industry, the Province of Alberta, skiers, ski area operators and even environmentalists who distrust what they see as the current ad-hoc decision-making model. A panel of external 'experts'

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[7] Repeated in the latest version of the Canada National Parks Act (2000 c.32) in Section 36 (1).

was convened to review a set of proposed guidelines for new long range plans; their recommendations and various rounds of public consultation did little to allay the situation. Costly court battles and failure to agree on guidelines for new long range plans lead to the following parody composed by the Parks Canada appointed ski areas coordinator:

PARKS CANADA
1998 SKI AREA GUIDELINES
Abbreviated Version
DON'T HURT THE DIRT!
DON'T SQUISH THE FISH!
DON'T CRUSH THE BRUSH!
DON'T LEAK IN THE CREEK!

The Canadian government now asks that the ski area long-range plans be tabled in the Canadian parliament, along with the park management plans. To date (2005) neither ski area guidelines nor new long-range plans have been agreed upon. New terminology employed in government guidelines makes planning difficult. No net negative environmental impact (NNNEI) and ecological integrity speak directly to environmental sustainability but do not consider economic or social sustainability. The distinct shift to conservation rather than development was described by one of my colleagues at Parks Canada as a pendulum that, once on the extreme right, is now on the extreme left and has yet to find its middle point.

Conservation versus development

In Canada in 1994, heated debates relating to the contradiction between development and conservation agendas in the bigger national park picture led to the convening of a task force made up of Minister- appointed external experts who were asked to discern the state of the environment in the Banff Bow Valley. A roundtable

process was employed and a report entitled *Banff-Bow Valley: At the Crossroads* (1996) was produced. Task Force members made over five hundred recommendations for conservation actions in the Banff Bow Valley. This led to the appointment of another panel of Minster-appointed external experts with a remit to cover all Canada's national parks. In 1998 the Panel on the Ecological Integrity of Canada's National Parks was mandated to examine the issues related to ecological integrity and recommend necessary actions. Panel members reported that national parks were threatened by numerous stresses responsible for habitat loss, habitat fragmentation, and loss of species (Parks Canada Agency 2000: 5-6). Of the thirty-eight parks in 1998, thirty-seven were significantly threatened. Subsequently, the National Parks Act was amended to reflect that ecological integrity is the first priority.[8] Management direction shifted in support of fires (controlled burns) as a means to expand habitat, increased restrictions on human use, better control of exotic species, and use of an indicator species to measure changes in ecological integrity. Staff were strongly advised on the importance of science-supported decisions (Parks Canada 2000).

Concerning similar issues, the involvement of outside experts was also instrumental in shaping policy in United States national parks. Funded by the Secretary of the Interior, the 1963 'Leopold Report,' authored by A. Starker Leopold, who was a member of an advisory board charged with investigating problems with natural resource policy, turned to the increasingly popular ecological paradigm, employing terms like natural, carrying capacity, balance of nature, climax species. In

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8 *Statutes of Canada 2000, Chapter 32, An Act respecting the National Parks of Canada Assented to 20th October, 2000, 8 (2).* Maintenance or restoration of ecological integrity, through the protection of natural resources and natural processes, shall be the first priority of the Minister when considering all aspects of the management of parks.

summary, "humans were seen as disturbances in the park ecosystem and the goal was to return parks to the ecological state present in pre-Columbian times. Ironically, to do this would require the use of tractors, chainsaws, rifle or flame-throwers" (Wockner 1997: 15-16). Management changed little as a result of the Leopold Report, but "the terminology did move policy in the general direction of acknowledging that different parks were for different purposes" (Wockner 1997:16). In 1999, 12 citizens, members of the National Parks Systems Advisory Board, were tasked with developing a report that would focus broadly on the purposes and prospects for the National Park System for the next 25 years. In a more positive fashion than their Canadian counterparts, they recommended broadening the national park scope, collaborating with others, reconnecting with American Natives, biodiversity and setting a sustainable example (National Parks 2001).

Ecological integrity, or the 'land ethic' as described by Aldo Leopold (1966), is today at the centre of contemporary North American rhetoric on national parks – incorporated into documents, legislation, development review processes (NPS 2001, Parks Canada 1994, 1997, Parks Canada Agency 2000, 2001). This discernable shift in focus to conservation comes with its own set of problems. How do you measure ecological integrity? And how do you predict the impacts of certain actions on ecological integrity in the future? In both United States and Canada federal environmental assessment and review processes may permit development that may be viewed as not meeting the ecological integrity 'priority' recently set out in National Parks Act. Hence deciding on appropriate developments or restrictions is further complicated. Chase would criticise this as a "growing preoccupation with politics that encourages a search for the solutions not in better biology, but with the right ideology" (Chase 1986: 361). But realizing the predicaments relating to human

livelihood created by relying solely on biology and other natural sciences, Parks Canada's latest corporate orientation document prepares for another shift – one that recognizes that ecological integrity is not the domain of natural science and cannot be achieved without 'people.' There is an emphasis upon human relations with nature – a shift that changes the current focus to include social and natural science.

Interestingly both the United States and Canada have legislated specific wilderness areas within national parks (for example Howse Pass in Banff National Park and all of the backcountry in Yosemite National Park). As I understand it, this means those areas are off-limits to any type of future infrastructure development. Wilson links this to the crusade started in the late 19th century to conserve 'wilderness' – "places supposedly uncontaminated by the physical traces of humanity – meaning people of European origin" (Wilson 1991: 39). In Chase's view national parks are compartmentalized, through zoning or wilderness declarations, making areas either a natural area or a cultural institution. We perceive that humans and nature cannot coexist, so we draw the line between the two: wilderness and preservation still means keeping people away (Chase 1986: 317-375).

The current state of national park management worldwide raises ethical questions. "In recent years parks polices have become complicated…nature reserves are cultural artefacts as much as they are natural systems – how far should one go in manipulating the area with fire and non-native species. Ecological restoration is partly an arbitrary exercise in cultural memory – is always a question of what to save, what to put back and what to take apart" (Wilson 1991:234-35). As Wockner asks (1997:5): "Can nature be preserved by being left alone, or should managers try to 'manage' nature?" How far do national parks go in demonstrating national policy on conservation and environmental ethics? Gary Wockner considers that: "Natural

resource policy is in disarray…because national park policy relies on a highly contestable dualism of nature and culture" (1997: abstract). As islands of conservation, do national parks salve the national conscience by off-setting those areas being exploited? It is possible that everyday social responsibilities for environmental stewardship are 'transferred' to national parks?

National Parks in Other Parts of the World

In 1810, Wordsworth described the English Lake District as "a sort of national property in which every man has a right and interest who has an eye to perceive and a heart to enjoy." Eventually, the first 10 national parks in England and Wales were designated in 1950, under the National Parks and Countryside Act 1949, but it was not until 2002 that Loch Lomands and the Trossachs was designated the first national park in Scotland. Ironically, George Catlin's 1832 vision of "a nation's Park containing man and beast" came to be translated more literally in Britain than in Catlin's North America. Policy towards British national parks began to take shape during the 1930s and 40s; this clearly followed the 'inclusive model' for park use. British national parks were superimposed on lands that have been settled and cultivated for centuries – population displacement was never a consideration in British park policy. British people were aware of the ways they shaped the land and, according to early national parks planner Sir Arthur Hobhouse, "The widely varied landscape of our country is a joint venture of natural growth and humans cultivation" (Hobhouse, in West and Brechin 1991: 33). In 1945, John Dower, the architect for national parks in England and Wales, prepared the following definition to reflect the British context:

> A national park is an extensive area of beautiful and relatively wild country in

which, for the nation's benefit and by appropriate national decision and action, (a) the characteristic landscape beauty is strictly preserved, (b) access and facilities for public open air enjoyment are amply provided, (c) wildlife and buildings and places of architectural and historical interest are suitably protected, while (d) established farming use is effectively maintained (Dower 1945:44)

In Dowers words, "the well-being of those who live and work in the national park must always be first consideration," and to this end success is measured by how well parks invigorate the local economies (West and Brechin 1991: 35). In 1977, the Countryside Commission reinforced the importance of farming within parks, identifying a need to "protect farmers from and help them cope with visitor pressures" (Countryside Commission 1977:7). This system of farming and conservation has not been without controversy, nor do all British agree that national parks should include humans. However the important point here is that the British model is a dramatic departure from the North American model. Dower envisioned a governing parks authority with control measures but not entailing the outright acquisition or the management of the lands. To this end, national parks are managed by appointed or elected authorities of the local regions or districts in which they are set, these authorities retain varying degrees of planning powers. Meanwhile, national park authorities have two roles: to conserve and enhance the natural beauty of the park and to promote opportunities for understanding and enjoyment by visitors. Under the Environment Act 1995, should conflict between these purposes arise, conservation is given the first consideration. It is interesting to note that, initially, national parks in Scotland were proposed as publicly held lands – in short lands to be bought-up (Harmon 1991:39). This was later revised but not before it caused serious

postponement of the designation of national parks in Scotland.

The advantages of keeping residents in the park, protecting natural and cultural resources and recognizing the need for continued traditional land use is also evident in most European national parks (Beede 1991: 100-101). Elsewhere there are other advantages to retaining the local populations. In Sagarmatha (Mount Everest) National Park (established 1976) the local sherpa population is part of the tourist attraction. However, these residents feel that economic success comes not from the creation of a national park as such, and they resent management's restrictions in place to address the depletion of forests and overgrazing resulting from long-term year-round human residency (Weber 1991:206). Japan leaves residents in the parks because of high population density and intensive land use in the country as a whole. Brazil and Australia, to take two further examples, leave indigenous peoples in some parks and often permit continued resource use on a regulated basis (West and Brechin 1991: 373).

Ironically the British model of protected landscapes that is more sympathetic to human habitation and resource use was not introduced to British colonies. When the Western world's practice of unilateral designation and management of national parks by government agencies was implemented by developing nations, it often did not allow local populations to live within the park boundaries or to use or extract the park's resources (Bidol and Crowfoot, 1991). The traditional North American model for national parks reflects the American experience of an affluent culture where land was not at a premium for subsistence production of food and material (West and Brechin 1991:10). Unfortunately the North American ideal became the model for conservation for a large part of the world where subsistence production in all areas is essential to rural survivals. In part this can be traced to colonialism, and in part to the

United Nation's International Union for the Conservation of Nature's (IUCN) Commission on National Parks and Protected Areas which in 1984[9] coined a definition for national parks that promoted the absence of resident peoples (West and Brechin 1991: 7 - 17).

In 1900, the first in a series of conferences was held in London to establish a wildlife convention for Africa (Tucker 1991:45). Large game parks were established for foreign visitors and the local elite; resident peoples were removed for conservation reasons, to stem resource extraction and create a 'pristine' environment. According to Dr. John Waithaka, former Kenyan national park manager, this scenario has changed little today as local populations cannot afford holidays so the national park visitors are almost exclusively foreigners (personal conversation). The displacement of local populations – is the scenario that lies at the root of the social problems described in Colin Turnbull's account of the Ik people from Kidepo National Park in Uganda (Turnbull 1972). Identified as a game reserve in 1958, Kidepo was designated a national park in 1964 when Uganda declared independence – again, an example of a national park confirming nationhood. Advertised to attract foreign visitors, Kidepo is Uganda's remotest national park, in the far northeast corner of the country that is rarely visited by tourists and boasts pristine wilderness, rugged mountain scenery and exceptional game viewing and bird watching (www.world-odyssey.com/uganda/kidepo.htm). The dehumanizing effect of forced relocation in Kidepo is referred to as the worst-case scenario (Calhoun 1991: 53). Exclusionary policies vary widely. Sometimes inhabitants are displaced just from selected parks where there is evidence that human occupation directly compromises preservation.

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[9] This preliminary system of categories was reviewed and changes were made in 1994. Category II, National Parks, still does not support human occupation; however, other categories are more supportive.

But there are even situations where residents adjacent to parks are displaced to address issues of poaching (for example, Royal Chitwan National Park in Nepal) (West and Brechin 1991:365-66). Cahuita National Park, established in 1970 in Cost Rica, experienced serious problems with the cost of relocation and over subsequent matters of land tenure. The result is that the ecological integrity of the park is in jeopardy and local needs are unmet (Kutay 1991: 115-119).

India offers an interesting example of how previous relationships with regard to public access to nature set the stage for a national park model. India has practiced a conservation 'ethic' since 1870s that respects the protection of wildlife species, but includes a consideration for human interests (Tucker 1991:40). The ethic, however, is based on the notion that the benefits of nature are for the privileged in society, and the subsequent national park model is elitist. India experienced massive forest depletion for agriculture during British rule, followed by the construction of railways from 1854 and further depletion of forests for rail sleepers and for fuelling engines. The Indian Forest Service, formed in 1865, implemented the System of Reserved and Protected Forest in 1878 that enacted selective cutting and restrictions on local use and declared areas off limits to hunting or other human exploitations (ibid : 44). In 1900, native princes feared game depletion in ancestral hunting reserves and they removed human populations from their private reserves, enacting their own laws against poachers. Some of these reserves evolved into national parks. In 1934, the Indian National Parks Act was introduced, focusing on the sport hunter; that Act defined who could come and go and what permits were needed (ibid: 45).

Looking Ahead

The designation of new national parks in today's world is universally subject

to an inclusive paradigm that engages local communities and recognizes people as part of the landscape. This paradigm won official recognition at the 1982 World Parks Congress. The paradigm is inevitable as 'uninhabited' lands are very rare and new national parks must be created in populated areas. The context is that there is a greater acceptance of humans on the landscape and a corresponding broader definition of a protected area. So it is that interactive planning systems, information gathering, multi-group communication, social impact assessments, alternative conflict management, synergistic multi-cultural interactions and consultative practices are popular buzz words (Bildo and Crowfoot 1991: 286-300). "New ideas about what parks do as well as new knowledge about the environment have influenced policy as well. Parks are now expected to preserve culturally significant landscapes and important ecosystems" (Wilson 1991: 230). Wilson connects this to the evolution of ecological sciences, the profit orientated economy and modern marketing. This idea is reflected in Bildo and Crowfoot's statement that, "The primary purpose of national parks is to conserve natural resources by selective protection of ecosystems, maintenance of ecological diversity, and conservation of genetic resources while providing opportunities for recreation, tourism, education, and research." (Bildo and Crowfoot 1991: 283).

According to Professor Guy Swinnerton, a respected advisor on parks policy and planning and a member of the World Commission on Protected Areas' Task Force on Protected Landscapes/Seascapes, there are 100,000 protected areas worldwide with multiple purposes and over 1400 terms (globally) for protected landscapes. Speaking at the Parks Forum 2005 in Canmore, Alberta (March 2005), he advised that the IUCN had established alternative categories, with rankings, that are more tailored to context. Importantly there is Category V for living and working

landscapes – in part bridging the gap between nature and culture. Against this there is Category II, 'National Parks,' which Swinnerton describes as: classically devoid of human habitation, typically individuals units, one-offs, set aside as islands for conservation, operated by central government and planned and managed against local people. Criticising Category II's non-holistic approach, Swinnerton reiterated the new paradigm for conservation as one that is for and by local people, is managed by engagement with non-government partners and has scenic, scientific, economic and cultural roles. A purpose of my research is to examine the extent to which two national parks, which have evolved in the context of quite different historical and ethical backgrounds, match up to this paradigm at the turn of the millennium.

Alternatives to the whole notion of national parks are currently receiving significant attention. At 5th World Parks Congress in 2003, the bio-region approach was promoted, despite its challenge to existing jurisdictions and the need for new management tools. Bio-regions are born of the concept that isolated landscapes, like national parks, are neither representative of biodiversity, nor are they sustainable. Lands outside the park are needed to sustain biodiversity and to uphold ecological integrity. Such a large intact ecosystem, in line with Leopold's land ethic, will mean less control for national park managers. Chase sees a need for management process to guide this change, and resolve conflicts over resource use - deciding what matters and why and moving towards a more global view of protection (Chase 1986: 363-368). As noted by Wockner (1997:36) "Natural resource management as now discussed in the U.S. has very little to do with the formation of the national parks." This sort of discussion leads to the merits of replacing national parks with biosphere reserves managed by governments and the private sector. Biospheres also offer a very different visitor experience. "Because biosphere reserves don't always look like

parks, are about relationships rather than scenery, there is often nothing to 'see' there unless you spend weeks and months tramping around , working the land, talking to people who live there – in short doing the things traditional rural people do. These reserves are often talked about as being a step towards getting rid of parks altogether" (Wilson 1991:241).

New issues relating to land tenure and indigenous land claims is another area demanding a fresh approach to park designation. Here an alternative to parks is traditional land use as proposed by indigenous peoples in the land claims struggle of the past thirty years. We are speaking about tribal parks proposed as a resolution to disputes over land claims (Wilson 1991: 246). Evidently, a national park, mostly concerned with representative landscape rather than the vernacular landscape, is not always the viable solution (ibid: 242). Thus land trusts where people work cooperatively to restore and manage programs on privately owned lands may prove more effective from both social and economic standpoints. In this context public consultation on the proposed expansion of Canada's Waterton Lakes National Park and Nahanni National Park strongly indicated the Canadian public does not automatically support a national park as the best means to protect nature. There is a modern shift that places emphasis on achieving economic, social and environmental sustainability rather than focussing primarily on environmental sustainability. This would be the middle ground between the pendulum that swings between pro-conservation and pro-development, as discussed earlier in the chapter.

CHAPTER 4: THE CULTURE OF NATURE

> "Cultural values of nature translate to environmental philosophy and ethics which lurk (often unrecognized or unacknowledged) just below the surface of environmental decision-making" (Warren 2002: 317).

Introduction

Magnus Magnusson's comment that "It all depends on where you stand as to how you perceive mountains" [10] is especially relevant to this study of national parks. Differing 'views' reflect people's relationship to the natural environment that in turn shape differing conceptions of national parks. This chapter examines the different perceptions of nature that give meaning to national parks. How do these affect national park designation and management? How do they affect the purpose of national parks? Protagonists in Banff and the Cairngorms clearly draw on these perceptions and the contrasting images that they offer.

Gary Wockner gives us five underlying perceptions of land that he believes give meaning to parks and natural resource management. With reference to the science of ecology, he divides the perceptions into pre and post ecology:

1. A requirement for monumental scenery engendered by the 'English' way of seeing nature,
2. The landscape ideal promoted by the romantic movement and transcendentalism and projected religious values,
3. The position associated with mainstream environmental movements and the deep

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[10] Opening comment at the Pitlochry conference on mountains in northern climates November 2002 .

ecology movement; the equilibrium thesis of undisturbed nature that denies a role for humans in ecosystems,

4. The classical paradigm of ecology that shares a version of equilibrium thesis but claims humans have and will always be part of the ecosystem, and

5. A new ecology that does not rely upon equilibrium but instead relies on metaphors like flux and change (Wockner 1997: 28)

These distinctions ring true, but I believe distinctive discourses can be refined still further to elucidate the central relevance of ideas about nature in shaping the two national parks in this study. National parks are visited by millions of people every year and revered by countless others who may never visit. "For many people the parks are more than merely beautiful places...touching instead something deep in the human spirit" (Rettie 1995: 1). One's personal views of nature are at the core of one's being and an important part of one's character. Varying views of nature lie behind social divisions relating to national parks' usage. The point of this chapter is to show how such divisions are often situated in socially constructed ideology embedded in social discourse rather than purely in personally acquired experience. The notions of ideology, discourses and social construction flag up the cultural character of differing views of nature. Different discourses about nature incorporate different idioms relating to distinct social agendas, functioning socially to unite, divide, categorize and subordinate. Discourse is strategically significant as it influences purpose and policy, not least government's decisions on how the park will be managed which in turn directly affects human experiences within the park. This chapter supports Bender's view that landscape (nature) should be studied not as an aesthetic, not as grist for an enticing poster, "but as something political, dynamic and contested, something constantly open to renegotiation" (Bender 1993: 276). In this

Chapter, I reveal eight different 'views' of nature: natures as wilderness (as the valued other), nature as utility, nature as practical experience, nature as a symbol of the nation, nature as vulnerability, nature as a means to self enlightenment, nature unto itself and nature as science. I also consider the scientific discourses on ecology and ecosystems and at the same time recognize the conflictual significance of these varying positions in shaping national parks policy. In following chapters I return to many of these points with detailed ethnographic evidence from my two park case studies.

The Social Contractions of Nature

Mill offers some insight into the principle meanings of the word nature: "In one sense it means all the powers existing in either the outer or the inner world and everything which takes place by means of those powers. In another sense, it means, not everything which happens, but only what takes place without the agency, or without the voluntary intentional agency of man" (Mill 2000:225). According to Simon Blackburn (St. Andrews lecture, December 2003) "nature is all things revealed by the natural sciences." Invoking ideology, social theory typically suggests that, seen in such ways, nature is a human invention; as I intimated earlier nature is socially constructed – it is a producer of culture (Berglund 1998: 7, J. O'Neill 2002: 36, Warren 2002: 327, Short 1991: xviii).

Also, in an ideological sense the term nature and its derivatives are used to convey ideas of commendation, approval, and even moral obligation (Mill 2000: 225). With respect to discourse, inquiries about nature are either into what 'is' or what 'ought' to be (Freyfogle 1993, Rolston 1988: 181). Science and history speak to the first, where a being has a good of its own; politics, art and morals speak to the second,

where a being should or should not be treated in a certain way (Mill 2000:226). Thus, when nature is considered in terms of ethics, the reference is to an external criterion of what we 'ought' to do and advocates generally lay down a rule of what 'ought' to be. For instance "They (environmental philosophers) do so because they have a notion, either clearly or confusedly, of what should constitute the rules and standards of what ought to be" (Mill 2000: 226). Discussions about nature are typically informed by these sorts of philosophical issues.

In the 19th century the term environment came to stress external determinants of human action and in the 20th century it came to denote the circumstance of nature as distinct from, or even opposed to, those of culture (Lowenthal 2000: 197). According to Warren "The point at issue is whether we perceive a discontinuity of any kind between 'us' and the 'rest'" (Warren 2002:325). This determines the way that we treat our world, whether we have a responsibility to care for the non-human world and whether environment altered by people is less valuable than wilderness. Anthropologists and other intellectuals have had much to say on this. Eva Berglund (1998), in her work on environmental conflict, takes a view attending to the socially constructed categories relating to the environment (nature), stating, "most striking is the nature-culture dichotomy" (Berglund 1998:10).

However some commentators consider this dichotomy either wrong or dangerous. Thus Tim Ingold claims that social relations are a subset of ecological relations, and dissolves the distinction between human and animal, natural and cultural. "Life is given in engagement not in disengagement, and in that very engagement, the real world at once ceases to be 'nature' and is revealed to us as an environment for people. Environments are constituted in life, not just in thought..." (Ingold 1996:150-1). The idea that nature is a social construct is soundly criticised

from another point of view, by David Rothenburg: "Such 'eco-fascist relativism' gives comfort to the enemy – what entrepreneur or politico need take reform seriously when a noted scholar says environment is all in the mind!" (Rothenburg, in Lowenthal 2000:210). And environmentalists stand accused of manipulating the dichotomy to equally question the ends. Environmentalists polarize nature and culture as implacable opposites.

> Environmentalism comprises several related credos, often unconsciously held. In brief, existence is profoundly dualistic; nature and culture are separate and incompatible essences; untouched nature is materially and morally superior to any human impress; wilderness is health, civilization is disease (Lowenthal 2000: 203-04).

In an additional perspective, Kirk, a philosopher, suggests that the human's relationship to nature falls into two categories: "phenomenal, the one of empirical facts and behavioural, the environment as perceived" (Kirk, in Short 1991:xv). Perceptions are typified as either anthropocentric or biocentric. Anthropocentric views, placing humans at the 'centre' of things holds that the world and all its resources are for human benefit. Nature was created for people to enjoy, preserve or exploit – to these ends, people manipulate nature and people are the caretakers of nature. Anthropocentric views generally lead to either a conservation ethic or a utilitarian ethic. A biocentric view emphasises the inherent and equal worth of all living things; according to this view, humans are no more and no less *a part of* nature. Respect for nature's demand is therefore the human duty. Western values towards nature have their roots in Europe; hence the ethos of national parks, born in North America, reflects a European ideology upholding anthropocentric Christian teachings. Stoic-Christian tradition insists on the absolute uniqueness of humans, they alone

have been addressed by God who created nature for people to use (Passmore 1995: 130-131).

National parks inescapably evoke the nature/culture division, for parks are about the *artificial,* setting apart an area of ground for its *geographical* or *biological* qualities. Therefore this thesis is not concerned with the phenomenological roots of human social life in an environmental engagement nor whether it is morally right or wrong to separate nature and culture. Its focus, on the dynamics of social interaction in parks, attends to how people, in varying idioms of communications, sustain different perspectives on nature, explicitly or implicitly in support of their own position. Individual interpretations of these values are shaped by 'habitus' and discourse. In the following we see that western values of nature communicated through theology, art, literature and personal experience centrally inform these different perspectives. Of particular interest is how these different perspectives in different ways (and in different proportions) include anthropocentric and biocentric *rhetoric* about the relations between humans and nature.

Nature as Wilderness (As Valued Other)

John Madden (1897:1) refers to wilderness as "the domain of nature, distinguished from the settlements and habitations of man." Wilderness means nature as scenery considered as separate from humans whose engagement with it is from the standpoint of an observer (Wockner 1997:31). When nature is deemed wilderness, as it often is in national parks, the formative social conceptions through which humans confer meaning on space, take on poignant meaning.

Up to the 19th century wilderness connoted non-agrarian land as a place to fear; a place of evil spirits and the subject of folklore, such land was often called

savage land, in part for the peoples who inhabited it (Madden 1897: 2, Short 1991: 6). But wilderness was also to be revered. As Short points out, classicists feared the wilderness and wanted to subdue it, but romantics revered the wilderness and wanted to preserve it (Short 1991: 6). While Madden believed that, "Residence in a savage land would usually be exceedingly bad for a man; and be certain in almost all cases to have a decidedly unfavourable effect upon the mind and character of a member of a civilized community" (Madden 1897:2), he also extolled the benefits of communing directly with nature. During this time, it became fashionable amongst the wealthier classes to venture into natural, uncultivated areas for recreation and relaxation which became a social indicator of wealth and privilege. Class differentiation was defined by the regard of nature for its aesthetic and leisure benefits rather than the livelihood it provided. Thus arose a distinction between land perceived for production and land perceived for viewing (Wockner 1997: 30). Deeside, in the Cairngorms, became a favoured 'viewing' spot for British royalty and hence members of British upper class. During this time, cultural values of nature were being shaped by literature and art through the works of authors such as Walter Scott and John Locke and the paintings of William Turner. The art-historian paradigm treats the landscape features as 'out there', open to various interpretations but inviolable and underpinned by an aesthetic agenda concerned with artistic values and imagery (Green 1995: 30-32). In this vein, Madden wrote that "the greater tracts of wilderness in America offer refuge for an 'over-taxed' brain. Extended association will teach the unobservant to observe and hence a highly educated mind can permanently benefit from such an experience" (Madden 1897: 2). Consorting with nature was, therefore, a constructive use of leisure time for those of higher intelligence.

The trans-Atlantic exchange of ideologies is important, as national parks are founded on North American concepts of nature that reflect Western/European ideology. The North American ideals of nature and wilderness, in particular as they apply to national parks, were largely influenced by the writings of Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, John Muir and Aldo Leopold. Thoreau's eloquence is demonstrated in this description of man's relationship to nature:

> I wish to speak a word for Nature, for absolute freedom and wildness, as contrasted with a freedom and culture merely civil – to regard man as an inhabitant, or a part and parcel of nature, rather than a member of society. I wish to make an extreme statement, if so I may make an emphatic one, for there are enough champions of civilization: the minister and the school committee and every one of you will take care of that (Thoureau 1952:108).

John Muir (1838 – 1914), of Scottish birth, was a wilderness wanderer whose vision of nature and humans as equals was presented in books such as *Our National Parks* (1901), making him a hero of the wilderness. Muir used wilderness as an escape from the harsh treatment imposed upon him by his Calvinist father in the name of God. He turned to nature rather than the Bible, reading nature as if it were a sacred book. At a time when wilderness was considered by some as 'an abhorrent and evil place' Muir "abandoned the anthropocentric theology of Calvinism, replacing it with a bio-centric wilderness theology rooted in a consciousness of the sacredness of wild nature" (Oelschalnger 1991: 176-7). His influence is particularly strong in present-day Scotland and his name became symbolic capital for those favouring parks in the national parks debate. The socially formative capacity of discourse in this debate is evident in the fact that by the pro-parks lobby there was constant reference to the home of John Muir, the 'father' of national parks, in a country that at that time was

still without its own national park. Muir's legacy continues on in Scotland in the form of the John Muir Trust and the John Muir Award, "a leading environmental award scheme that focuses on wild places, challenging people to discover, explore and take personal responsibility for the conservation of their natural heritage and to share these experiences" (from a poster advertising a competition for the Award). The purpose of a recent award was to contribute to the early stages of the Cairngorm National Park, by promoting amongst other things an awareness of wild places and ensuring that social circumstances didn't exclude people from experiencing wild places. The successful candidates were evaluated on communication skills, planning and organization, and networking ability. The scheme capitalizes on Muir's name; however, candidates were not evaluated on their knowledge of, or empathy for, Muir's biocentric principles.

From the 1900s, fearing and revering the wilderness have gone increasingly to connote the taming and saving of it. In part this is because of the destruction of the wilderness that has occurred. Wilderness worship today owes much to our remorse over its disappearance (Lowenthal 2000: 203). As Singer wrote:

> The remnants of true wilderness left to us are like islands amidst a sea of human activity that threaten to engulf it. This gives wilderness a scarcity value that provides the basis for a strong argument for preservation within the terms of a human centred ethic (Singer 1993: 269).

As national parks are considered a vehicle for preserving wilderness, this cultural shift is of particular importance. In Scotland environmentalists blame historical mismanagement of the land for the decimated state of the Highlands and for a loss of wilderness – their focus is on repairing past mistakes and righting wrongs. On the tourism side, discourse is about constructing a romantic notion of the unique character

of the Highlanders built upon their struggles with the adverse natural and social conditions in the Highlands

The view of nature devoid of human habitation forms a pillar of the North American ethos on national parks. As noted in the previous chapter, it has caused severe repercussions when governments have purposefully imposed it, displacing human populations as a prerequisite to designation. National park policy in North America has long reified imaginary wilderness but creating this illusion of untouched nature has required massive intervention. But this is changing, "Only now are people aware, as a park's spokesmen put it, that 'the human presence has always been part of the wilderness experience'; even Yellowstone is celebrated as a 'cultural landscape'" (Lowenthal 2000: 206). Notions of pristine wilderness are impractical, especially within Scottish landscapes, such as the Cairngorms, where the landscape is shaped by centuries of human habitation and use (O'Neil 2002: 41, Warren 2002: 327, Hirsch 1995: 5). More realistically, there is a long established dependence on nature for livelihood and a day-to-day relationship with the natural resources.

In both Banff and Cairngorms, notions of nature as wilderness sometime includes what are claimed to be indigenous or traditional ideas. Among these are the concepts of nature as sacred (Milton 2002: 141- 2, 145) and the concept of a wilderness-centred universe that embraces the human population (Morrison 1997: 273). Regarding the legacy of indigenous virtue, "Some today would leave the natives on their lands. They see environmental evil emanating only from Western culture" (Lowenthal 2000:207). If technology separates people from nature then "backwardness becomes a bona fide stewardship" (Lowenthal 2000:207); once loathed as uncouth savages the natives are now ecological saviours. Closer inspection suggests however that these ideas are constructed by 'others,' often

outsiders, who have exoticised on a pure, unadulterated association with nature various representations held, for example, by First Nations peoples in Canada. By such protagonists, 'One-with-nature like our native brothers' discourse has been used to evoke an image of peaceful co-existence between nature and culture that is directed at the public and policy makers in an effort to persuade them that the historical and fundamental core values of harmony with nature should be mirrored in modern times. The reality is that traditional indigenous populations were almost certainly not 'at one' with the environment. Moreover, this image falsifies what First Nations people are truly concerned about, primarily social issues such as poverty, alcohol and drug abuse and suicide. However, "like the unicorn, the ecologically noble savage is a mythical creature too useful to disavow" (Lowenthal 2000: 209).

Nature as Utility

A utilitarian ethic clearly emerges from the anthropocentric view of nature. As emphasized during 2002, designated by the United Nations as the International Year of the Mountains, we are all connected to the mountains. This connection mainly refers to the use of mountains as sources of fresh water, centres for biodiversity, sources of raw materials, destinations for tourism and locations of sacred sites (Price et al 2002: 1). The designation was designed to raise the profile of mountains on political agendas in line with growing concerns for sustainable environments.

Contemporary approaches to protected areas are correspondingly forced to be more explicit in demonstrating tangible benefits, in particular to the local communities. This has spawned what is known as the 'Christmas tree' approach to national park designation, that is, securing support for a new national park by

promising something (a benefit/gift) for everyone. The fourth aim in the Scotland National Parks (2000) Act enunciates the legislated requirement to incorporate economic and social benefits in all decisions. Currently, the most often mentioned social and economic issues are housing and employment. These issues must be considered in conjunction with the other aims of the Act that address the more typical conservation-laden objectives. But the dichotomy of what is good for the environment and what is good for business inevitably surfaces (one example of this is the construction of the Chateau Lake Louise conference centre).

There is an enormous felt or emotive difference between feeling that a place should be valued or respected for itself, for its perceived beauty and character, and feeling that it should not be defaced because it is valued by one's fellow humans, and provides pleasurable sensations or money or convenience for them (Routley and Routley 2000:141). Rather ironically, the spiritual values of nature and the non-tangible personal benefits are most eloquently expressed in the rhetoric produced by those upholding utilitarian values. Utilitarian discourse specifies nature as a tool to accomplish something else – but with more 'natural' results. In Banff National Park the Lake Louise ski area operators promote their location in the majestic Rockies through the use of the marketing slogan, 'nature and beauty at your doorstep'. Meanwhile, the Fairmont Chateau Lake Louise, which boasts of its location near the serenity and tranquillity of a beautiful glacier-fed lake, has nearly completed a new seven-story conference centre on the lakeshore, a rather poignant example of an irony that exists between respect for nature and the utility of nature.

Business operators view environmental problems as business issues. They consider environmental investments for the same reasons that they consider other investments – they expect a positive return or a reduced risk. Environmental

improvements can have direct monetary value by increasing the number of visitors. Products are created that offer greater environmental benefits than environmental costs, ahead of competitors. The notion of environmental gain is an investment, which can then justify higher prices and reach the environmentally sensitive market share by publicizing greenness and support for the national park ideology of conservation and protection. Business contributions to environmental studies, in particular studies that focus on issues commanding public sympathies are tools for strengthening public approval and consumer loyalty. Grizzly bear studies in Banff and capercaillie studies in the Cairngorms are obvious examples.

In the ongoing debate over development and business versus conservation, Banff businesses have launched national park awareness programs that extol the virtues of the national park, inform visitors of the local history and promote the importance of 'ecological integrity'. Local hotels have taken the lead, as they are the initial point of visitor contact and the most direct point of consumer contact. Overseas marketing, in particular to the UK and Germany where the public is more environmentally conscious, focuses on environmentally friendly tourist activities and services. Banff National Park is a cornerstone of the province of Alberta's tourism. According to 1999 statistics (Alberta Economic Development 2000) winter recreation in the provinces various national parks accounts for a third of the overall tourism revenue for the province. It also subsidises over 10,000 person years of province-wide employment. Hence, I received many questions during the Cairngorms public consultation regarding the economic viability of the proposed park. Ideally, for some, the Cairngorms National Park would have a similar impact on local economies. It was in this vein that local business owners expressed concern, that "the park (government) should not benefit from commercial sales at the expense of local

businesses" (public consultation meeting, Glenmore Lodge, March 22, 2000).

There is a convincing argument that one cannot put a value on the environment (Pearce et al 2000: 181). The utilitarian measure is one of rating human preference with respect to the environment. Here environmental economists have developed a taxonomy of economic values reflected in the following formula:

Total use value = Actual use value + Option value.

Actual use value refers to direct benefit, for example fishing, bird watching and photography. Option value refers to potential benefit as opposed to actual present use value. It is an expression of preference, a willingness to pay for the preservation of the environment against the probability that the individual will make use of it at a later date. It relates to the availability or supply of the environment, and the theory is that this optional value is likely to be positive (Pearce et al 2000: 175-6). As once stated by J.B.Harkin, Canadian Commissioner of National Parks: "The parks will pay not only in the strictly commercial dollars and cents way but they will also pay in a still more important way by adding to the efficiency and vitality of the nation" (Lothian 1979:16).

Nature as Practical Experience

Making a living from nature frequently involves people's intimate involvement with a landscape over a long period of time. Hunting and farming, in particular, imply practial activity whose 'habitus', one may say, is informed by nature. Landscape in these instances is intrinsic to practical experience. Discerning this experience is not easy for the anthropologist. As Hirsch puts it: "There is thus the landscape we initially see and a second landscape which is produced through local practice and which we come to recognize and understand through fieldwork and through

ethnographic description and interpretation" (Hirsch 1995: 2). Clearly it is this second landscape to which I am referring here. But when people's engagement with nature is a matter of contestation, the notion of nature as practical experience can become explicitly enunciated by (some of) those involved. In both Banff and the Cairngorms permanently residing residents embed themselves in this discourse in situations when protesting a sense of disempowerment vis-a-vis park managers and environmentalists/conservationists. This is something that the ethnography in Parts 2 and 3 brings out, and needs no further elaboration here.

Nature as Symbol of the Nation

"The history of conservation is redolent with nationalist overtones ... articulated for example in the idea of natural monuments as objects of collective pride" (Berglund 1998:104). United States President Taft's address to Congress in 1914 in support of national parks promoted the "consideration of patriotism and the love of nature...the accessibility and usefulness that would bring all these natural wonders within easy reach of our people" (Taft 1914). "Landscapes are compelling symbols of national identity"; each person treasures the landscape features that are unique to their part of the world (Lowenthal 2000:198). As noted in the previous chapter, North American nature gives a face to the nation and rivals European built heritage as a national identifier.

In both Canada and Scotland the connection between nature, national parks and nationalism can be further identified. Traditionally, discourse on national parks is heavily laden with the importance of national parks being maintained for future generations. Thus they are a symbol of (for example) Canada, and all Canadians own the national parks. In Banff National Park, Lake Louise, Victoria Glacier and

Moraine Lake are Canadian icons. National parks are a vital source of national pride for all Canadians, ranking second only to the national flag. "Our parks are the birthright of every Canadian. Banff National Park will always be a place to visit, to experience, to discover and learn about. A place where one truly feels what it means to be Canadian." [11] Moving the administration of national parks from the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs to the Department of the Environment, and then to the Department of Canadian Heritage with an accompanying rhetoric on presenting a proud Canadian heritage to the world, emphasized this symbolic aspect of the purpose of national parks. "The national parks are visible reminders of the country's natural and cultural heritage and powerful symbols of national identity; the national park is a signifier of the culture" (Parks Canada Agency 2000). The role of national parks in securing pan-Canadian nationalistic sentiment is certainly important in a country often divided over unity and the Quebec separatist movement.

In Scotland, national parks are symbolically linked to political devolution, which occurred in 1999. In 1997, Donald Dewar, the Secretary of State for Scotland who later became first First Minister of a partially independent Scotland, spoke directly to the creation of Scotland's first national parks: "I believe that national parks are the right way forward for Scotland. It is important that the structure of the national parks and the powers available to them are designed to meet the particular needs of Scotland" (December 16,1997 Press Release from Scottish Office). Not everyone would, or did, agree with Dewar's statement. National environmental ideologies are myths mobilized in the course of state formation and nation building, which reference to particular territories and specific societies (Short 1991: xvi). The ideologies here refer to the myths of wilderness, countryside and city, which are used to create

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[11] Ministerial press release announcing the downsizing of the town of Banff, March 1997.

national identity. Designating a landscape 'national park' is just an administration and management tool with many different interpretations, nationally in the UK and internationally (Patterson 2000:121). That Scotland did not have national parks was, from a nature conservation point of view, not necessarily a bad thing.

Others however see a purpose in national parks to demonstrate ethical and moral responsibility, nationally and internationally. In connection with the campaign, in 2002, for the expansion of the Cairngorm National Park boundaries and the park gaining World Heritage Site status, one activist put it: "World Heritage Status gives us world exposure. How is the Scottish parliament going to be judged? Look beyond your political agendas and prove the strength of the Scottish parliament to do the right thing for our environment" (Bill Wright, NTS meeting, November 27, 2002).

The link to nationhood, especially in Canada, implies a relationship between park and people that does not rely upon personal encounters with the physical features of the national park. Most Canadians have never been to Banff National Park: "It's too expensive, too cold, too far, communing with nature is not my idea of a holiday" are comments often heard. But the lack or personal engagement does not negate their sense of ownership - "I pay for the upkeep of Banff National Park with my taxes" - or the sense of pride - "Banff National Park is our showcase for the world." A socially rather than experientially constructed ideology of nature permits one to support protection of the landscape (a national park) regardless of direct contact with the landscape. This increases the force of national park ideology and enhances its scope and value as social capital used as a tool for persuasion. It also permits one to associate the pride in the protection of nature with national pride, and to address other universal concepts such as preservation for future generations. "The creation of a

national park is an expression of faith in the future. It is a pact between generations, a promise from the past to the future" (National Parks Service 2001:1).

Nature as a Means to Self Enlightenment

Literature importantly conveys points of view and personal experiences that shape the culture of how we relate to nature. Thus in the late 1800s nature emerged as prominent in the discourse of personal inspiration and enlightenment. For example, the first journal of the Scottish Mountaineering Club which appeared in 1890 proclaims:

> The love of scenery and of the hills is implanted in the heart of every Scot as part of his very birthright...and...on the hill tops one seems to breathe something else than air and one looks down on every side upon a scene untamed by work of man, just as it came fresh from the Creator's hand (Smout 1990: 14).

Seton Gordon wrote the following in *The Cairngorm Hills of Scotland* (1925):

> In the immense silences of these wild corries and dark rocks, the Spirit of the high and lonely places revealed herself, so that one felt the serene and benign influence that has from time to time caused men to leave the society of fellows and live on some remote surf-drenched isle...there to steep themselves in those spiritual influences that are hard to receive in the crowded hours of human life.

Jim Hunter, a more contemporary author, wrote:

> No matter how well you get to know the Scottish Highlands, no matter how often you have glimpsed a particular scene, in this tremendously varied area, it seems to retain its power to impose itself, all of a sudden, on your mind (Hunter 1995:149).

Joseph Sax provides this on nature in North America:

> Nature...has a peculiar power to stimulate us to reflectiveness by its awesome grandeur, its complexity ... it not only promotes self understanding but an understanding of the world in which we live (Sax 1980:46).

Importantly for my own study, he connects his view to the national park experience:

> Engagement with nature provides an opportunity for detachment from the submissiveness, conformity and mass behaviour that dogs our daily lives...to face what is wild in us and yet not revert to savagery. From this perspective what distinguishes a national park idea from a merely generalized interest in nature may be the special role that the national park plays from within a developed and industrialized society, in contrast to those traditions in which nature is offered as an alternative to society. The setting of the national park provides an opportunity for respite, contrast, contemplation and affirmation of values for those who live most of their lives in the workaday world (ibid: 42). The goal should not be to stimulate that familiar response but to confront the visitor with the less familiar setting of an unmanaged natural landscape. The mild shock of a scene to which there is no patterned response and the engendering of an untutored personal response is precisely what national park management should seek even in such seemingly small details (ibid:86).

In some contexts discourse on nature and enlightenment clearly overlaps with discourse on nature as wilderness. For example, among skiers nature is considered as an object to conquer and reaching a mountain peak represents a victory over self and nature. As professed by the Scottish Ski Club, formed in 1907,

> Of glory in the victory over self and nature...the greatest of all joys of skiing is the sense of limitless speed, the unfettered rush through the air at breakneck

> speed, man is alone, gloriously alone against the inanimate universe... He alone is Man, for whose enjoyment and use nature exists (Smout 1990:14).

Nan Shepherd similarly writes about the emotion of climbing and the fyeness (madness) that stirs in one's body. She also talks about the freedom and the light feeling in the body, a joyous release (Shepherd 1977). Shepherd's eloquent discourse on the Cairngorms creates vivid images that transport us to places in our memory and introduce us to places we may never visit. Her book *The Living Mountain: A Celebration of the Cairngorm Mountains of Scotland* relates her association with nature in the Cairngorms as "precariously balanced between the mysterious realms of organic and inorganic matter" (Shepherd 1977). She concludes that the mountain lives because of our conscious engagement with it.

> It is as with all creation, matter impregnated with mind...it is something snatched from non-being, that shadow which creeps in on us continuously and can be held off by continuous creative acts. So, simply to look on anything, such as a mountain, with the love that penetrates to its essence, is to widen the domain of being in the vastness of non-being. Man has no other reason for his existence (Shepherd 1977).

In *A Theory of Place in North American Mountaineering* (2002) John McCarthy describes an experience in nature as an extension of self whose identity is shaped by the interpenetration of the human and the natural. McCarthy describes how he and his friends, well-known mountaineers in Banff National Park, feel they shape and are shaped by their environment. Their climbing experiences are absorptive yet constitutive. Their personal level of perceptiveness is achieved after prolonged isolated exposure to nature in its wildest form, in their case advanced forms of mountaineering. The experience is unique and immediate with no

predisposed/planned interpretation based on an established point of view; it is purely emotional (McCarthy 2002: 180-186).

Nature as Vulnerable

The popular conservation ethic is born of an anthropocentric perception of nature. It is the human's duty to protect and restore nature because nature is vulnerable to people's actions - over the years, it is humans who have depleted and altered nature for heir own gain. The conservationists' debate over human intervention and 'hands-on' or 'hands-off' management centres on definitions of pristine and wilderness. For example, can nature be considered pristine after humankind has consciously manipulated its natural processes to increase or restore its wilderness value? Ironically many of the 'hands-off' advocates who want parks returned to wilderness refer to the state of the environment before European contact and give little regard to indigenous peoples' earlier relationships to the land. Nor do they consider the 'hands-on' activities that must be employed to attempt this move. As Wilson points out, "ecologic restoration is partly an arbitrary exercise in cultural memory – is always a question of what to save, what to put back and what to take apart" (Wilson 235). The 'hands-on' advocates maintain that more intervention is needed usually in the form of stricter regulations, because natural regulation will not work (Chase and Hess in Wockner 1997:4). Both these positions have relevance to national park policy as, clearly, national parks are about conservation and protecting nature.

In 1980, Kay Milton interviewed 28 conservationists in Britain, 20 of whom claimed that nature conservation was important to them because they had been influenced by personal experiences in nature (Milton 2002: 62). Many ordinary

people feel the same. A survey conducted on behalf of the Province of Alberta, in August 2000, revealed "a full majority of Albertans feel that national parks are more about protecting wilderness than tourism and recreation" (Angus Reid Group 2000:2). Sixty-six percent indicated that national parks should be about "conservation and preservation of the natural environment for future generations" and 22% maintained that national parks should be about "promoting tourism and showcasing beautiful scenery, now and in the future" (idib:2). In Scotland, a poll conducted in 1991 indicated that 84% of Scots thought Scotland should have national parks (Gimingham 2002b: 206) though they were not necessarily sure that they would entail. In 1998, two years before the Act was introduced to Parliament, public consultation indicated that, in Scots' views, national parks promote conservation and are a tool for management that ensures guardianship and stewardship of natural heritage (SNH 1998: 6-7). For the most part, in both Banff and the Cairngorms, the 'hands-on' approach is adopted but for some people, the threat of further regulation reduces the appeal of the national park.

Nature unto Itself

Bio-centric rhetoric is most clearly enunciated in discourse that reveals nature as a self-determining agent. Paul Taylor suggests that biocentrism upholds the conception of each individual organism as a teleological centre of life. Every living thing has well-being which is deserving of preservation and promotion. "To view the place of humans in the natural world from the perspective of the biocentric outlook is to reject the idea of human superiority over other things" (Taylor 2000:216). No living thing is considered superior to another; "the bio-centric outlook entails species-impartiality" (ibid: 216). In its pure form, bio-centric value is in the form of non-use.

Discourse founded on the fundamental values of biocentrism tempers social positions and influences resource management decisions by degrees as clearly national parks are created for human use and enjoyment. But a parks context usually means that this has to be offset against values of human use and enjoyment. The biocentric viewpoint that natural processes are interdependent and every species plays an integrated role in the balance of nature is clearly present in parks' mandates which uphold ecological integrity and the protection of nature.

But more uncompromising biocentric positions are available which advance the idea of a living dimension to nature, seen, unto itself, as a self-regulating system. New Age Gaiaism, which interprets the environment as a vast, holistic organism with a mystical underpinning, would be an example (Prince and Riches 2000). Though not much explicitly voiced in the national parks context, this is an intriguing and important notion which relates to the idea of wilderness preservation and hence indirectly to popular national park ideology. Named after Gaia, the Greek goddess of the Earth, Gaiasim believes the Earth is a single entity with systems that interact in an orderly programmed manner. Tinkering with the organism invites calamity. If nothing else, Gaia theory forces a planetary perspective (Freyfogle 1993: 103-105).

Closely linked to Gaiaism is deep ecology, a discourse that has achieved some influence in particular in Banff National Park as it relates to ecological integrity and conservation biology. A concept created by Arne Naess, deep ecology "presumes a great emphasis upon the interconnectedness of everything and that our egos are fragments, not isolatable parts. By identifying with greater wholes, we partake in the creation and maintenance of this whole. We thereby share in its greatness" (Naess 2000: 245). Simply put, deep ecology is a recognition of the inter-relatedness amongst species and the contingent importance of each. Humans must purge

themselves of anthropocentricism and cease thinking of themselves in elevated terms instead imagining a horizontal chain of species in which none stands higher than the other (Freyfogle 1993: 106). This is most easily imagined in a wilderness setting where all things appear to interlock in a natural order, or in a pre-industrial pastoral scene where humans seem to blend into the landscape (Freyfogle 1993: 107).

According to Frome (in Wockner 1997:2) national parks should be *managed as wilderness enclaves.* In Frome's eyes national park managers have allowed the parks to decay to a state of unnaturalness by allowing them to become pleasure parks suitable for superficial human enjoyments. In his terms the welfare of the natural resources should "come first, before the commerce and crowds" (Frome in Wockner 1997:2-3). This is a paradoxical position, for, as noted already, 'managing' denotes human intervention and wilderness generally symbolizes the absence of humans.

Deep ecology generally upholds an existentialist ethic. In the existentialist ethic Peter Singer and Tom Regan argue that non-humans deserve the same moral considerations as humans. This presents a non-anthropocentric but individualistic approach grounded in "prima facie moral obligations that are owed to wild plants and animals themselves as members of the Earth's biotic community. We are morally bound (other things being equal) to protect or promote their good for *their* sakes (italics in original)." Taylor uses this ethical stance to support his view that species populations and life communities deserve legal rights and legal protection; hence the need for legislation (Taylor 1998: 197-218).

Assigning an economic value to nature in biocentric terms is difficult because such value is based on non-use. Therefore, the equation is simply stated: intrinsic value = existence value. This is usually coupled with the altruistic motive, where nature takes on yet another value, that is, the bequest of natural environments to future

generations, one's heirs in general. In biocentric thinking it is simply the mere existence of the asset that is being bequeathed. The expectation is that the asset will be appreciated and valued in the same way by that future generation. Assigning economic value to something's existence, and not use, seems superfluous. However concepts of economic value dominate considerations in national parks, for they comprise the core of environmental funding and of campaigns for the protection of endangered species and natural environments. In national parks economic value legitimates the taxpayers' dollars and entrance fees that go towards the preservation of non-usable or non-convertible-to-cash resources. As pointed out by Pearce, Makanday and Baraber (2000:178), it is very often a remote environment that may never be seen by the person supporting the campaign now or even in the future that is the subject of intrinsic/existence value.

Nature as Science

The word "ecology" was first used in 1866 by German scientist Ernst Heinrich Haeckel (1834-1919). A zoologist and proponent of Charles Darwin's theory of evolution, Haeckel was known for his speculative approach to natural history and his frequent invention of new scientific terms (Haeckel 1900). The original Haeckelian definition for ecology is "the study of the relationship between organisms and environment" (www.ecostudies.org). The Institute of Ecosystem Studies expands on this with two additional definitions:

> The second definition, which is perhaps the one that is heard most often, considers ecology to be the study of the distribution and abundance of organisms (Andrewartha and Birch 1954). The third definition is one that focuses ecology on the study of ecosystems (Odum 1971)(ibid: 2005).

The Institute adds that:

> A definition of ecology should have several characteristics. It should be brief, simple and direct, inclusive, reflective of the scope of the modern discipline, and allow for changes in the detail of the science. In addition, depending on the audience, the definition should indicate that ecology is a science rather than an ideology. Likewise, the discipline can emerge as concerned with the dynamics, or process of its subject, rather than only its objects and their statics. An important feature of a definition of ecology would be to point to both the abiotic and the biotic components of the natural world (ibid: 2005).

Frederic Clements, considered by some to be the first 'ecologist,' (Rolston 1988: 160) devised an equilibrium model of ecology in the 1920s based on the fundamental values of biocentrism. He professed that if left undisturbed, nature would attain its maximum diversity and stability. This prompted 20th century landscape reformers to advocate the restoration of environmental well-being by curtailing human impact. Eric Freyfogle, a professor of law and an active environmentalist, suggests that restoring the Earth's health will entail a complete absence of human influence (Freyfogle 1993: 156). John Muir and Aldo Leopold are often revered as the key advocates and influencers of ecological ideology. Leopold's land ethic states "a thing is right when it tends to preserve the integrity, stability and beauty of the biotic community, it is wrong when it tends otherwise" (Leopold 1966), is the generally accepted definition of ecological integrity.

By the 1950s, ecology had become a "token of correct thinking even in government agencies" (Lowenthal 2000:204). According to Freyfogle, "Ecology is at the heart of the modern concern over the environment" (Freyfogle 1993: 128). Parks Canada amended the National Parks Act to include a clause making ecological

integrity the first priority. Ecological integrity is defined in Section 2 (1) of the Act as "...a condition that is determined to be characteristic of its natural region and likely to persist, including abiotic components and the composition and abundance of native species and biological communities, rates of change and supporting processes" (Canada National Parks Act: 2000). This is non-anthropocentric, but it is not individualistic; it is more about the biotic community and less about individual members of the biotic community. Section 8(1) of the Act states: "The maintenance or restoration of ecological integrity through the protection of natural resources and natural processes shall be the first priority of the Minister when considering all aspects of management of the park" (Canada National Parks Act: 2000). The abstract notion of ecological integrity attempts to measure the robustness and capacity for recovery of a natural ecosystem. With national parks, a clear definition and measuring of success or failure remains a challenge; hence Banff National Park has emphasized its science driven approach to decision-making. "The one science that seems most deserving of our faith these days is ecology...it brings the bits and pieces of nature together like no other science does" (Freyfogle 1993: 128). The assumption is that ecology discovers simultaneously what is taking place in the ecosystem, and defines what biotic community means as an organizational model enveloping organisms (Rolston 1988:173).

Within ecology, an ecosystem is a naturally occurring, dynamic and complex assemblage of organisms. Ecology presumes that the organisms in an ecosystem are usually well balanced with each other and with their environment such that the introduction of new environmental factors or new species can have disastrous results, eventually leading to the collapse of an ecosystem and the death of many of its native species.

Conclusion

During fieldwork, I discovered that, for the most part, residents in both Banff and the Cairngorms had difficulty verbalizing their personal association with nature; for them nature is more easily conceived than described. Their feelings are partly their own, based on experience, and partly formed by what is expected of them as responsible members of society. When asked about the *purpose* of the national park, comments were more forthcoming: "Standing for twenty minutes looking at a mountain or a field of wildflowers, that's gotta be what national parks are all about", or "A national park is about protecting the environment and the wildlife there and the prettiest landscape in the country, and an opportunity to view it and recreate within it." Residents in both areas often expressed similar sentiments.

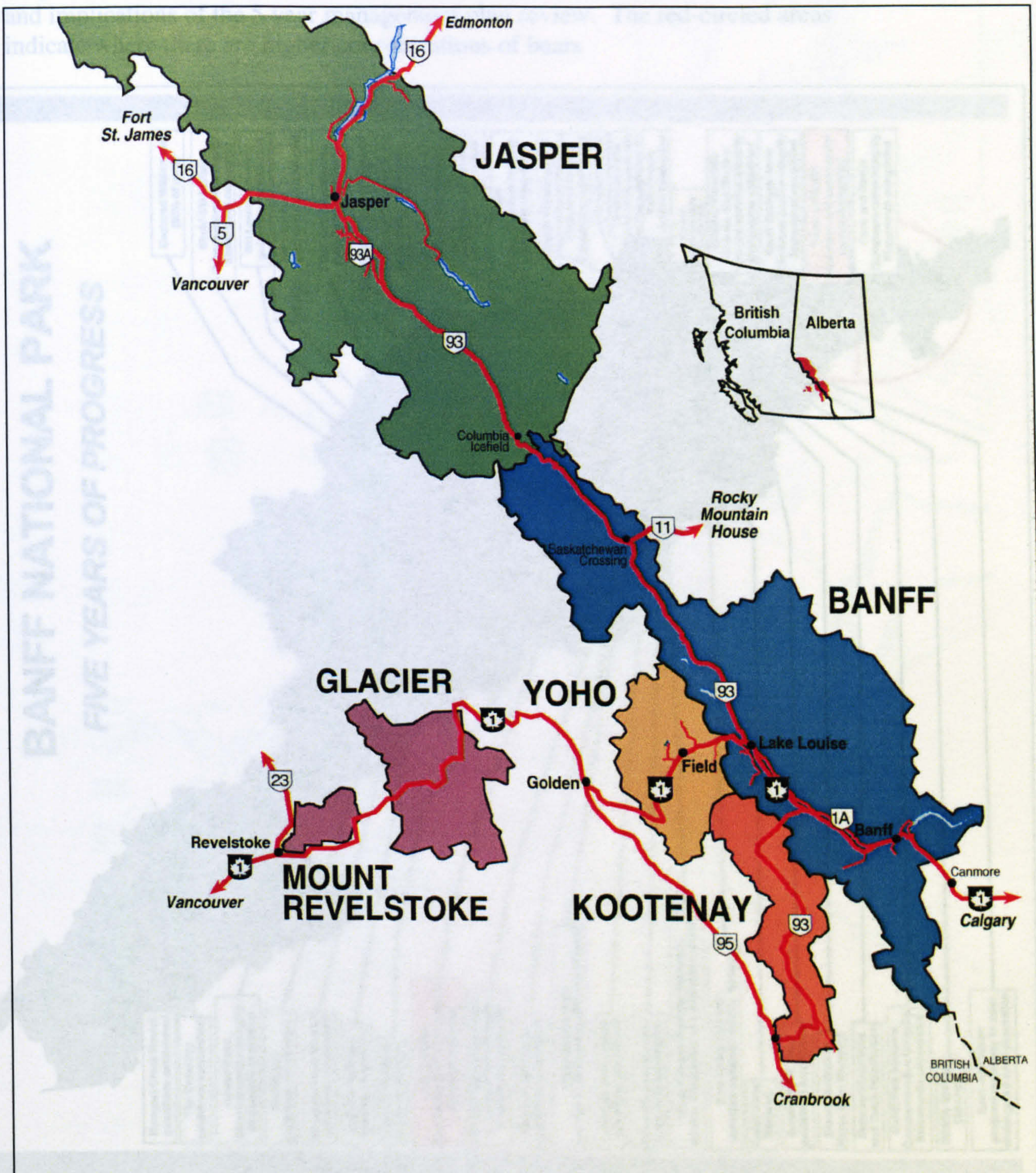
Regardless of the motivation, once a national park has been designated and the boundary-lines drawn, park resources must be 'appropriately' managed. Then issues of contention arise. Government policy in democratic countries works on the principle of perpetuating a political position that depends upon public support. On the premise that the state seeks to ensure that all of its citizens are able to pursue personal interests and private preferences under conditions that are convenient and equitable to all (Kneese and Bower in Sagoff 1995: 165), governments must consider the personal wants of the individuals in the society while maximizing benefits to all. But this brings into collision competing discourses representing diverse values arising from various social positions. A major question is whether the greater good of society should take a back seat to the local good. Thus "Environmental concerns are ...intensely parochial. Our own environments, individual, local and national, are seen as uniquely precious, as unlike all others" (Lowenthal 2000: 198).

So it is that policy makers are faced with the co-existence of multiple conflicting environmental narratives (O'Riordan 1995). We shall see this clearly in the discussion of Banff and the Cairngorms parks in the remainder of this thesis. The tensions are firstly between the desire for dominance over nature versus the reality of our dependence on nature; secondly between efficiency and equity; thirdly between the demands of the present and those of the immediate or distant future; and fourthly between the rights of the individual and responsibilities to one's 'neighbours' (however defined). International environmental policies and treaties use the language of science and economics such that international policy directives refer to 'bio-diversity, nature and sustainability', understood as the maintenance of 'natural capital' (O'Neill 2002:45). Such language functions to transcend and silence the local ways of speaking. In this respect, as parks policy develops, bio-centric values may come to take precedence over notions of usefulness and enjoyment (Reichwein, 1998: 173).

PART 2

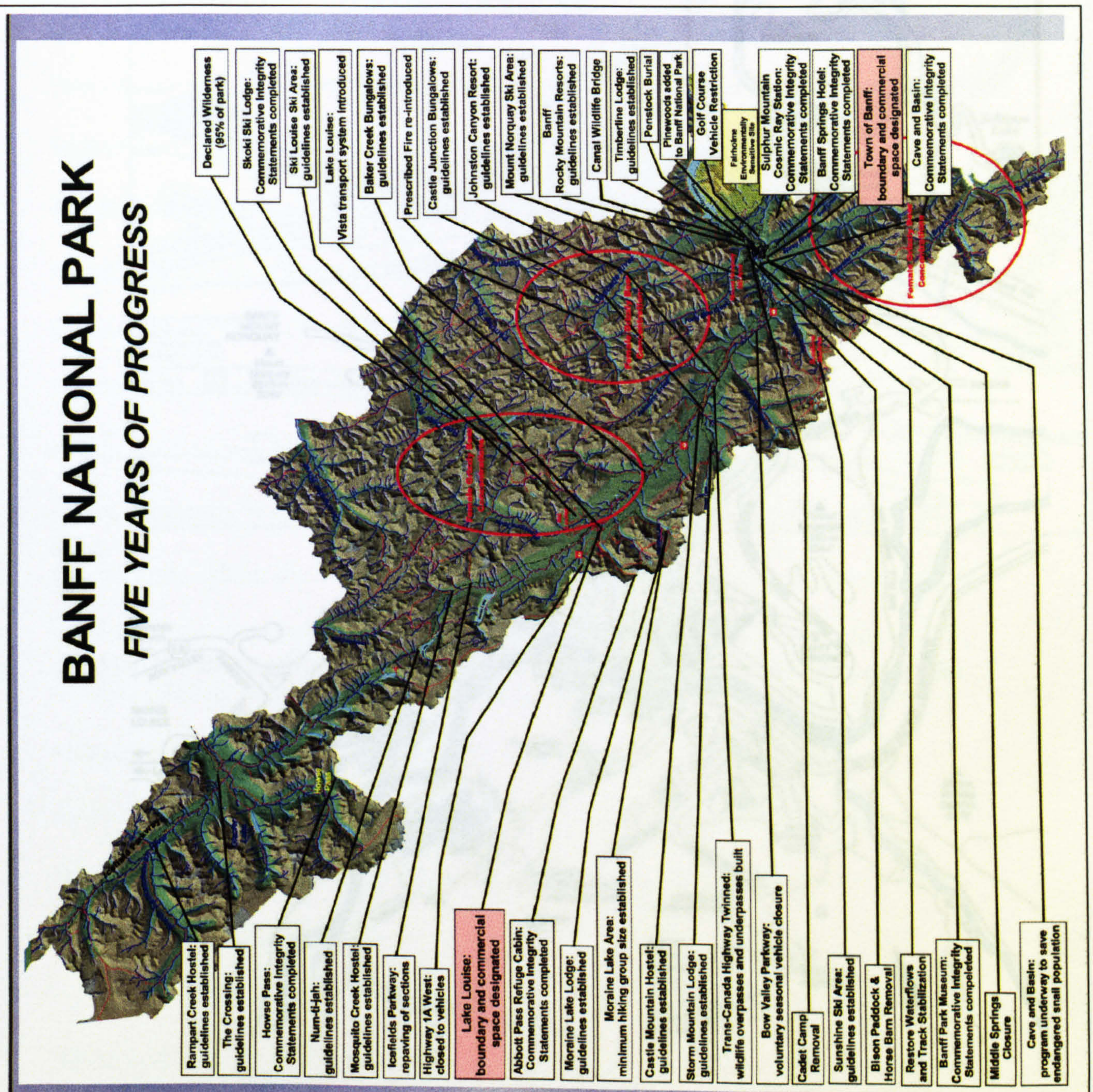
BANFF NATIONAL PARK

Map 1: Banff National Park in relation to the Provinces and other mountain national parks



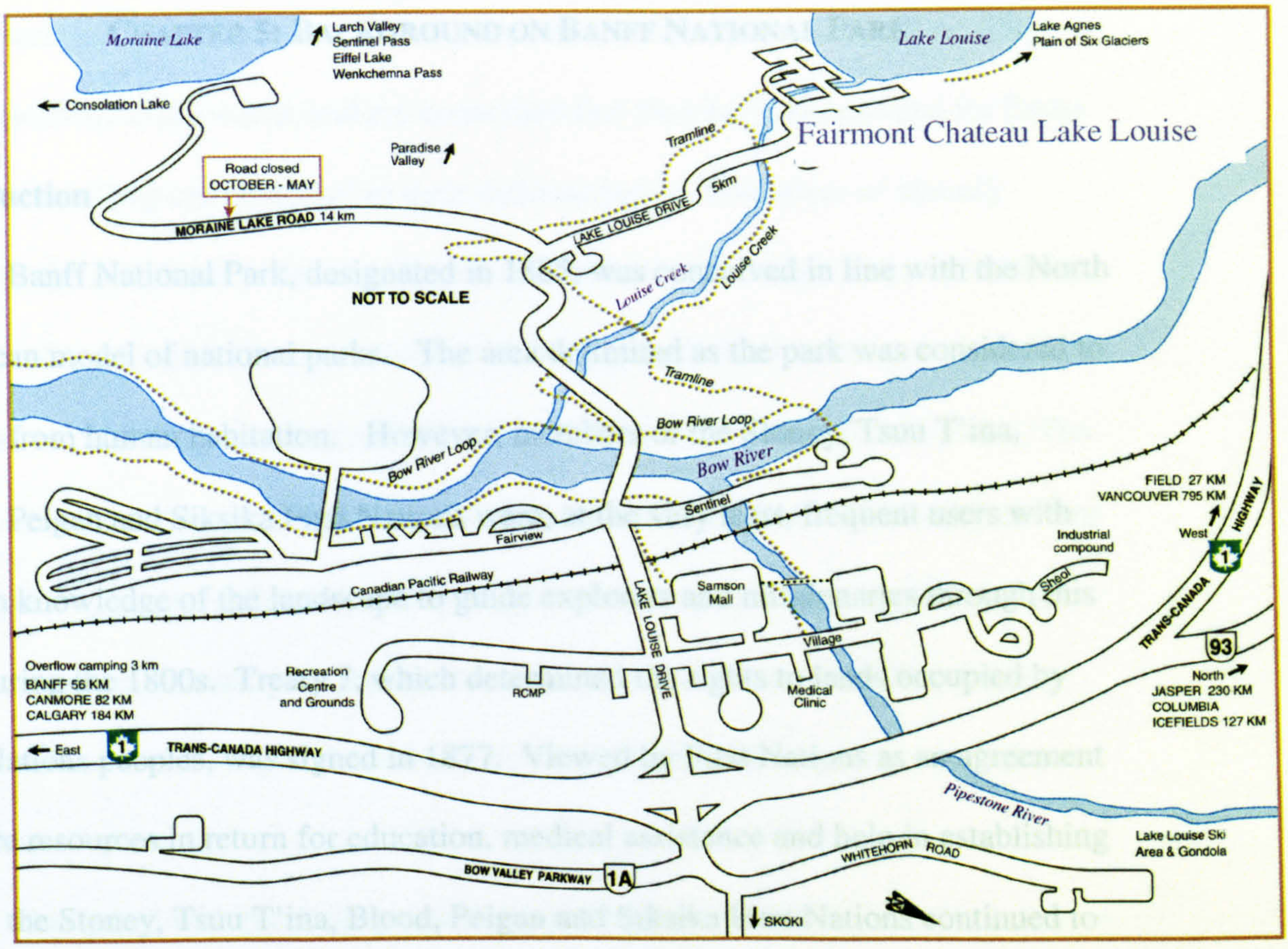
Map courtesy of Parks Canada

Map 2: Banff National Park – location of landmarks, townsites, visitor facilities and implications of the 5 year management plan review. The red-circled areas indicate where there are higher concentrations of bears



Map courtesy of Parks Canada

Map 3: Town of Banff, Cascade Corridor, Golf Course and Mt. Norquay Ski Area



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Map 4: Village of Lake Louise, Upper Lake Louise and Base of Lake Louise Ski Area

CHAPTER 5: BACKGROUND ON BANFF NATIONAL PARK

Introduction

Banff National Park, designated in 1885, was conceived in line with the North American model of national parks. The area delimited as the park was considered to be free from human habitation. However, members of the Stoney, Tsuu T'ina, Blood, Peigan and Siksika First Nations were, at the very least, frequent users with enough knowledge of the landscape to guide explorers and missionaries through this area during the 1800s. Treaty 7, which determined the rights to lands occupied by First Nations peoples, was signed in 1877. Viewed by First Nations as an agreement to share resources in return for education, medical assistance and help in establishing farms, the Stoney, Tsuu T'ina, Blood, Peigan and Siksika First Nations continued to use the area. The government viewed Treaty 7 as a surrender of lands and, in an effort to secure more lands for settlers, removed the First Nations peoples onto nearby reserves (Hildebrand, 1995:6-7). In 1960, the Siksika First Nation filed a specific land claim seeking restitution for timber rights granted to them by the federal government. The claim, based on historical use, covers an area of 21 square kilometres in the Bow Valley between Castle Mountain and Storm Mountain, near the centre of Banff National Park.

Banff has now been subject to over 100 years of national park management whose policy during this period has reflected societal shifts in parks ideology that, in line with the shifts described in previous Chapters, have affected national parks worldwide. Initially a 'park for profit' Banff is now a 'park for protecting'. We may say, in simplest terms, that it is the site of two communities. Outsiders and visitors perceive the park much differently from how local residents perceive it. Canadians

have a strong affinity for their national parks, and as citizen-owners they proudly showcase them to the world, and are concerned that they be well managed for future generations. They are 'at home' in their national parks. This sense of identity enhances the social and political utility of the national parks while at the same time putting residents under the microscope. Mediating between these two communities there are several other agents, crucial for the maintenance of the national park. The park is also 'home' to scientists, environmentalists and bureaucrats who may or may not physically reside in the park. They play important roles in shaping how people interact with the national park and its resources. As agents of scientific, environmental and managerial discourse they impart significant power in relation to shifts in policy.

Compared with the Cairngorms National Park the social circumstances surrounding Banff National Park are relatively less complex. The Cairngorms has an indigenous Scottish population whose social, economic and cultural practices in the area predate the foundation of the national park by centuries. Banff National Park residents, meanwhile, are present only by virtue of the park's existence. Therefore Banff National Park, from both social and historical points of view, is ideal as a case study to draw out and exemplify the key social agents implicated in the park's context. The theme of this part of the thesis is contestation between these social agents – locals, scientists, environmentalists and bureaucrats. In the next chapter I reveal in some detail the agendas and voices of the agents. Then in a following chapter, attending to the iconic status of the grizzly bear in Banff National Park, I analyse the power play among the agents through focusing on the specific event of the Banff Human Use Management Strategy. This power play especially relates to the varying and discrepant discourses about nature that these agents uphold. The present

chapter provides a background on Banff National Park, offering an overview of its physical and social and economic character that are the landscape and cultural context within which people live and recreate.

Located in the Rocky Mountains on the western border of Alberta, Canada (map 1), Banff National Park (BNP) is one of seven contiguous sites that make up the Canadian Rocky Mountain Parks World Heritage Site.[12] Of the forty-seven national parks and reserves in Canada, Banff National Park was the first to be designated and remains the flagship. The Parks Canada Agency, operating within the Department of Canadian Heritage, is responsible for the management of Canada's national parks. Lands within the national parks are the property of the federal government and therefore belong to the citizens of Canada.

Banff National Park encompasses approximately 40,000 square kilometres of glaciers, mountains, forest, lakes and rivers (map 2). How one experiences Banff National Park is, to a large degree, dictated by infrastructure. Seventy-three kilometres of the Trans-Canada Highway runs through the southern part of the Bow Valley; an estimated 3 million visitors per year arrive via this highway. The section of the Canadian Pacific Railway that brought the first tourists to the area now serves primarily to transport commodities to and from west-coast terminals. Passenger service is limited to the summer months and caters to high-end tourism; as in the railway's early days, guests are transported to the chain of exclusive (Fairmont) Canadian Pacific Hotels strategically built in attractive locations; The Banff Springs Hotel and the Chateau Lake Louise are the famous hotels within Banff National Park. The park provides a network of access roads and trails that lead visitors to popular

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[12] The seven contiguous sites are: Banff, Jasper, Kootenay and Yoho National Parks and Assiniboine, Hamber and Robson provincial parks.

destinations. The nature of the environment, the rugged terrain, the dense forests, the frequent streams and rivers, make following cleared paths the most logical means of travel. Hiking below tree line would be very arduous without this facility and compliance for trail use is, therefore, very high. The "2003 Mountain Park Visitor Survey"[13] revealed visitors' most popular activities. At the top of the list was 'driving and sightseeing' (54%), followed by 'eating in a restaurant' (45%), 'shopping' (35%), 'sightseeing and landmarks' (32%) and hiking (27%).

For management purposes, the park is divided into zones. Zone I is for special preservation of unique, threatened or endangered natural and cultural features. It covers approximately 4% of the park area. Zone II is for the vast areas of nature being conserved as wilderness, mostly glaciers, lakes and steep mountain slopes. In this zone, infrastructure is limited to trails, alpine huts, backcountry campgrounds and Parks Canada patrol facilities. Zone III designates those areas of natural environment that provide a wilderness experience along with a few amenities. Commercial backcountry lodges are located in this zone; however, motorized access is prohibited. Zone IV contains those areas developed for recreation that can be accessed by motorized vehicles. This includes the three ski areas, roadside picnic areas, and lakeside day use areas. Zone V, covering less than 1% of the park, is for high visitor use and contains the necessary infrastructure and services, including the town of Banff (population 7000), the village of Lake Louise (population 1500) and the Trans Canada Highway. Within these zones, three ecoregions are identified for management purposes: alpine (above tree line), subalpine (steep slopes just below tree line) and montane. The montane ecoregion encompasses the lower slopes and large valley

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[13] An unpublished report that contains the results of a survey sponsored by Parks Canada, the Mountain Parks Visitor Survey Partnership and Alberta Economic Development.

bottoms. This last category is critical, denoting an area covering less than 4% of the park where humans and wildlife share the environment on a daily basis. The two communities, Banff with a population of 7000 and Lake Louise with a population of 1500 [14] (maps 2, 3 and 4), are located in this montane ecoregion.

Physical Characteristics

Banff National Park's physical characteristics set it apart as landscape worthy of protection and as an internationally renowned tourist attraction. The mountains in Banff National Park reach an elevation of 3500 meters. Permanent ice fields exist north of Lake Louise and on the border between Jasper and Banff National Parks. Two major rivers have their source in the park. The Saskatchewan River flows from the Saskatchewan glacier in the north end of the park. The Saskatchewan is part of the Canadian Heritage River system, established to recognize the rivers that played a significant role in the natural and cultural heritage of Canada. The Bow River flows south from Bow Lake at the base of the Bow Glacier, located approximate 30 miles north of Lake Louise. The Bow runs through both the village of Lake Louise and the town of Banff before exiting the park at the east gate entrance. Most of the national park's infrastructure is located in the Bow Valley, including a section of the Trans-Canada Highway, the Canadian Pacific Railway, secondary roads and two of the three ski areas. The concentration of facilities and people in the valley has raised concerns that this area's ecological integrity is at risk (Page et al 1996:9).

There is a network of glacially formed valleys in the park with steep slopes and a tree line at 2000-2300 meters. Above tree line there are steep gradients with little and poor soil. Below the tree line, vegetation is primarily lodge pole pine, fir,

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[14] Statistics Canada reports for 2001.

spruce, larch, aspen poplar, grasses, shrubs such as juniper, bushes such as bear berry, raspberry and strawberry and an impressive variety of wildflowers such as Indian paintbrush, lady slippers and snow lilies. There are areas of tundra, coniferous forests and grasslands (Gadd, 1995: 249-405).

The park's wildlife includes carnivores such as black bears, lynx, grizzly bears, wolves and coyotes, and smaller mammals such as beaver, muskrat, ground squirrel and marmots. There are 211 varieties of birds, some of the most common being ravens, whiskey-jacks, mountain jays, mallards and Canada geese (Gadd, 1995: 507-671). There is a large ungulate population. Indigenous species include deer, sheep, goats and caribou. Elk, a larger version of Scotland's red deer imported in 1917 (Luxton, 1975: 47), have thrived in the park. In 1999, the population within boundaries of the town of Banff was estimated at between 350 and 500 head. Problems associated with this level of human-wildlife co-habitation in such a small area prompted an elk relocation scheme in 1999 that removed over 200 head of elk.

The average temperature in July, the warmest month, is 22 °C. In January, the coldest month, the temperature averages -15° C. On average, 240 centimetres of snow falls between November and March. The park is situated on the fringe of the Chinook belt. Strong west winds can, during the winter months, cause dramatic warming in short periods of time (parkscanada.pch.gc.ca, 1999).

Local Economy

Banff National Park does not support land-use industries in the typical sense of the term. Unlike the Cairngorms, there is no agriculture, forestry, or field sports; the only industry that one could consider being directly related to the land is the ski industry, though I have included this as one element of the tourism industry. Tourism

and conservation are the mainstays of Banff National Park's economy. The park was created on the assumption that 'if you build it they will come'. Conservation was adopted as the tool to protect the wilderness that would keep them coming. Parks Canada employs up to 500 people in various conservation and national park operations-related roles, from direct involvement through wildlife and vegetation research and monitoring to less obvious involvement through education, interpretation, and administration. Public services delivered by Parks Canada include information centres, campground attendants, highway maintenance, avalanche control, and public safety. The seven heritage sites in the park are operated by Parks Canada.

The significance of Banff National Park to the provincial and national tourism industry is undisputed. Following CPR workers 'discovery'[15] of hot springs at the base of Sulphur Mountain in 1883, businesses supporting the tourism industry sprang up adjacent to the hot springs, and the town of Banff began to take form. In these early days Banff town, with a population approaching 300, had six hotels, nine stores, two churches, a school and a post office. Successful marketing of some of the world's most breathtaking scenery has resulted in a tourist trade that today reaches 3 million visitors per year. Alberta's three Rocky Mountain national parks, Banff, Jasper and Waterton Lakes, contributed $954 million to the Alberta economy in 1998. It is estimated that on a province-wide basis this means an economic impact of over $1 billion. As well, 28,000 person-years of employment were attributed, province wide, to the tourism in the three national parks, of which Banff contributes the highest percentage (Alberta Economic Development 2000, 2000a).

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[15] Their 'discovery' was questionable as the unique properties of the hot springs were already well known to First Nations peoples and earlier explorers (Hildebrand, 1995:8).

Banff National Park's well-established system of visitor services now includes 50 hotels and 40 bed and breakfasts. There are 150 restaurants, 250 retail shops and 1180 businesses. In the greater park area there are 13 campgrounds, with 2500 campsites, three of which are open year-round. There are six hostels and nine lodges in outlying areas. As well, wide ranges of recreational services are available such as horseback riding, hiking, canoeing, cycling, cross-country skiing and mountaineering. World-class downhill skiing experiences are provided at three ski areas: Norquay, Sunshine and Lake Louise (map 2). The Banff Upper Hot Springs continue to offer bathers an opportunity to soak in the natural springs that sparked the creation of the park. There is a 27-hole golf course at the Banff Springs Hotel adjacent to the town boundaries (maps 2 and 3). The Banff Centre offers year-round accredited programs in the arts. It also has a school of management and a Centre for Mountain Culture (Parks Canada 1997: 8). Banff town also has several high end stores, such as Burberry's and Cartier, primarily to serve international tourists. According to the manager, the Banff Safeway store is the busiest in Canada during the summer months. While most services are geared towards visitors, Banff town also provides a number of basic services including gas stations, a hospital, medical clinics, grocery stores, a library and schools. On a busy summer the town's population increases by up to 40,000 people with overnight and day use visitors. This means long line-ups at gas stations, for grocer stores, and the coffee shops – in spite of the recent influx of cappuccino shops. Residents often complain of crowding and the lack of essential services such as a shoe repair shop or car wash; blame for this is levied at the Town Council and Parks Canada officials as all businesses are subject to various levels of government approval based on appropriate use of the limited space within the town boundaries.

Lake Louise is defined by its three distinct areas: the upper lake which includes Lake Louise and the Chateau Lake Louise, the valley floor which is the village, and the ski hill which is on the opposite side of the valley from the lake (maps 2 and 4). In 1885 visitors began arriving in Lake Louise. A rail spur ran from Laggan station to Chateau Lake Louise, a CPR hotel constructed along the shore of Lake Louise; it was the main attraction of the area and the primary reason for stopping off at Laggan station. Gradually the name Laggan disappeared to be replaced with Lake Louise.[16] Lake Louise has a particularly interesting mountaineering history. North America's first climbing fatality occurred on Mt. Lefroy, on the opposite side of the lake from the Chateau. The public's reaction was extreme with serious discussion over banning climbing in the area (Sandford 1994:53). In 1899, the CPR responded by hiring mountaineers from Switzerland to guide their clients from Chateau Lake Louise to surrounding peaks. By 1920 Lake Louise had become a North American centre for mountaineering. A road was completed to the area in 1925, bringing more tourists and the need for more services. Hostels and lodges were built in the valley bottom and at the lake in what is now called Upper Lake Louise (map 4). Today, services are limited to one central shopping mall and adjacent gas stations - residents and frequent park visitors will drive the 40 miles to Banff to avoid paying the high prices for groceries at the one market in Lake Louise. One of the busiest spots in the village of Lake Louise is Laggan's Deli – serving coffee, sandwiches and pastries to locals and tourists who are willing to stand in the frequent long line-ups for service. Some of Canada's finest restaurants are located in Lake Louise; one on the valley floor holds the prestigious 'Grand Award' for its outstanding wine cellars.

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[16] The historic station was restored recently to a heritage railway station and restaurant that is very popular with the locals.

From the village of Lake Louise one road leads up to the lake at Upper Lake Louise, with a branch to Moraine Lake (map 4). At Upper Lake Louise, a network of trails encourages visitors to stroll along the lakeshore, visit two teahouses and venture into neighbouring valleys. The lakeshore trail is well used, being a low-level walk accessible to all ages and abilities. On a busy summer day, 20,000 people will visit Upper Lake Louise; the beauty of the lake and its status as a Canadian landmark make it one of the must-see attractions in Banff National Park. Moraine Lake, located in the Valley of the Ten Peaks south of the Upper Lake Louise area, is also very popular, hosting up to 4,000 visitors a day (www.parkscanada.gc.ca/pn-np/ab/banff/plan). In both locations, visitors hike, canoe on the lake, and take advantage of the services provided by the hotels (at the Fairmont Chateau Lake Louise one must now be a guest at the hotel to make use of the large and very popular main floor lobby). The hotel at Moraine Lake is restricted to summer operation – in the winter the road remains unploughed and serves as a popular cross-country ski trail. Currently, the parking lots at Upper Lake Louise and Moraine Lake accommodate day users and guests at the hotels. Ongoing studies by Parks Canada and partners in the tourism industry show a rising trend in independent travel as opposed to group travel on bus tours. More visitors arrive via private vehicles and many arrive in motor homes and campers. The parking lot at Upper Lake Louise was expanded in the 1980s to accommodate a significant increase in day users and guests at the Chateau Lake Louise. On busy summer days both parking lots are full with vehicles parking well down the roadways. Concerns over perceived compromises to visitor's experience due to overcrowding and threats to the natural resources due to overuse form a basis for the Lake Louise Human Use Strategy that is discussed in detail later in the thesis.

Governance in Banff National Park

Banff National Park residents live in an environment firmly governed through Acts, regulations and policy. The lines of power are historically defined and the government of Canada has a monopoly on decisions, in part because it owns and manages the park on behalf of Canadians. Compared to other communities in Canada, Banff and Lake Louise are subject to an extraordinary amount of attention from national governing bodies – in this case the Parks Canada Agency and the Department of Canadian Heritage. All development is considered in light of the National Parks Act and the *Banff National Park Management Plan.* A locally appointed Advisory Development Review Board provides advice as part of the approval process. Proposals of any significance trigger a comprehensive review under the Canadian Environmental Assessment Act. These Acts and processes include provisions for public consultation – a mechanism that broadens the decision-making process to include all Canadians. Provisions for public involvement are spelled out under the National Parks Act (NPA) and the Canadian Environmental Assessment Act (CEAA):

National Parks Act

5. (1) Subject to section 8.2, the administration, management and control of the parks shall be under the direction of the Minister.

(1.3) The Minister shall review the management plan of a park every five years and shall cause any amendments to the plan to be laid with the plan before each House of Parliament.

(1.4) The Minister shall, as appropriate, provide opportunities for public participation at the national, regional and local levels in the development of park's policy, management plans and such other matters as the Minister deems

relevant.

Canadian Environmental Assessment Act (CEA Act):

In Canada, environmental assessment is a public legal process to weigh the merit of human activity against its potential harm to the environment (Northey and Tilleman: 1998:189). As stated in the Act…

> 4. The purposes of this Act are: … (d) to ensure that there is an opportunity for public participation in the environmental assessment process.

The Act also mentions: Screening of Comprehensive Study:

> 16. (1) every screening or comprehensive study of a project and every mediation or assessment by a review panel shall include a consideration of the following factors…
>
> (c) Comments from the public received in accordance with this Act and the regulations.

The Act also explicitly notes an opportunity for public to comment…

> (3) The Minister shall provide reasonable public notice of and a reasonable opportunity for anyone to comment on draft guidelines, codes of practice, agreements, arrangements, criteria or orders under this section.

In the past, residents' participation in local governance was very limited and residents did not become active in resource management activities because it was taken for granted that the government was looking after any resource management issues. This changed on February 28, 1921, when the Banff Citizens Council was formed to act as advisors for issues dealing with the affairs in the park. By April of 1925, this had grown into the Banff Advisory Council. The Council acted as an intermediary between the government and the residents; however, they were granted very limited powers and no budget (Lothian, 1979: 43). During the 1960s there was

also an increase in the public's interest in conservation issues and subsequently natural resource management came under greater public scrutiny (Hildebrand 1995:15). This created a demand for better public consultation and participation, prompting an amendment to the National Parks Act (section 5 above) thereby instating a legal requirement for public involvement.

Prior to 1990, Parks Canada officials working from offices located in both communities administered both Banff and Lake Louise. In 1990, the Town of Banff was incorporated as an Alberta municipality. On a day-to-day basis, the town is administered much like comparable communities elsewhere in Alberta; a mayor and council are elected every four years and are charged with the responsibility for managing the town's domestic operations on behalf of the residents. Under the guidance of Parks Canada, the Town of Banff prepared a community plan for approval by the Minister. The plan adheres to the direction in the *Banff National Park Management Plan.* This means that all decisions on planning, land use, development and environmental issues remain under the authority of the federal government, as intimated earlier. At one point the Mayor stated he was "the master of dogs off-leash and parking", a comment inspired by the Town Council's lack of authority to set its own level of appropriate development.

Since the 1997 *Banff National Park Management Plan,* residents have an avenue to provide advice on development proposals through the Advisory Development Board (ADB). The primary purpose of the ADB is to act in an advisory role to the approving authority (Parks Canada) in the review of development permit applications and other matters. These may be assigned by the approving authority in order to determine appropriateness and acceptability within a broad management planning and development context. A secondary role is to provide general

recommendations on perceived deficiencies in Banff National Park policy. The ADB is made up of a maximum of seven volunteers from the general public who serve a two-year term. Board meetings are open to the public and the media. A member describes his role:

> *We try to inject some common sense into the to-ing and fro-ing. The unquestioned validity of science is past. We look for a rational analysis of a chaotic system. But we are not hung up on over analysis. The key is common sense. Community input is often anecdotal but it is valid. It is on a par with science. Bias taints observations. And there is bias towards anecdotal information. Parks Canada has its own bias, anecdotal has a bias.*

Residents have formed committees, the Town Housing Committee, the Transportation Advisory Committee and the Heritage Homes Committee, which report to Town Council, and a park-wide transportation committee that reports to Parks Canada. There are a number of local lobby groups and organizations formed to further specific agendas. ENGOs, including Under the Sleeping Buffalo, The Banff Bow Valley Naturalists (BBVN), the Banff Environmental Action and Research (BEAR) Society, Protect Our Rare Community Heritage (PORCH) Society and a local branch of the Alberta Wilderness Society are active within the park. On strategically chosen occasions, these groups will distribute literature and protest publicly to support their causes. The Association of Mountain Parks Protection and Enjoyment (AMPPE) was formed to represent business owners and park users and to counter environmental activist groups lobbying for the closure of park facilities. The organization promotes a balance between protection and use. A number of Banff and Lake Louise businesses belong to and contribute to this Association.

A few locally formed organizations work with Parks Canada in delivering services and hence in drawing upon local resources for park operations. One such organization is The Friends of Banff National Park, a body incorporated under the Societies Act in 1980, that provides services to the visiting public on behalf of Parks

Canada. The formal agreement between the Friends and Banff National Park states:

> Staff and volunteers agree to work with Parks Canada to protect the natural and cultural heritage and to encourage public understanding, appreciation and enjoyment of heritage in ways that leave it unimpaired for future generations (unpublished Parks Canada document).

The Friends are allotted retail space in the Banff Information Centre. Profits are donated back to the park for purposes specified by the Friends.

In the mid-1990s, the mountain national parks underwent a re-organization, or, as some call it, a re-disorganization.[17] Political boundaries were replaced with management units or, as they are now called, field units. Lake Louise, together with Yoho and Kootenay National Parks, form one field unit, the south section of Banff National Park forms another. The effectiveness of these reorganizations is constantly being challenged. While this one had little effect on Banff town residents, it had a significant effect on Lake Louise residents. Within Parks Canada, it has created confusion over lines of authority, in particular with respect to problem wildlife that cross the field unit boundaries and hence draw upon the management resources from both field units (personal communication, Parks Canada wildlife warden).

Parks Canada continues to provide municipal services and governance to Lake Louise; there is a provision in the 2001 Lake Louise Community Plan prohibiting local governance in the form of an elected council. The senior local authority is the Field Unit Superintendent appointed by Parks Canada. He/she is supported in that role by a team of managers that includes a Townsite Manager tasked with specific community issues. Lake Louise is considered a visitor centre; as such it accommodates residents involved in providing visitor services. It is the responsibly of the twelve head lessees providing those services to ensure employees have appropriate

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[17] This was just one in a series of national park reorganizations.

housing; residences are owned by the head lessees and Parks Canada. Long-term staff and those with families often commute from Banff or Field, in neighbouring Yoho National Park, where they have the opportunity to own a home on a privately leased lot. Parks Canada provides municipal services. In the past, the Lake Louise Advisory Board (LLAB) acted as a liaison between the residents and Parks Canada administration. It was described by a former LLAB member as "moderately effective over the years, at times giving good input". He felt "it kept the process running", providing an avenue for dialogue with Parks Canada officials. Board members had a vested interest in their community – or business owners, long-term year round residents and senior managers they were genuinely concerned about the future well-being and health of the community for their families and their staff.

The field unit re-organization affected Lake Louise at a time when many of the contentious issues relating to the park were centred there. Parks Canada officials with authority over the community and surrounding area no longer lived in the community. The lack of first-hand attention to matters of concern had a debilitating effect on the residents and community representatives. After several frustrating years, the Advisory Board lost its enthusiasm and drive. Various members commented on the state of the affairs.

> *We have to be vocal about our absolute disappointment at the Advisory Board falling into dysfunction. It makes it easier for Parks (Canada) to make a decision but we would rather be involved no matter how frustrating it was. An opportunity for good communication with Parks in now non-existent. If there is no housing for a Superintendent or Townsite Manager - that is a Park's problem. Most of the contentious work is here and Lake Louise has a high profile. We can't even figure where they are getting their information.*

> *The degree to which Parks Canada accepted and respected the role of the Advisory Board changed with the Superintendent and Townsite Manager. Those who lived here were great. They were raising their families in the community either here or Banff and they at least attended the meetings. There have been varying degrees of enthusiasm from Board Members, depending on their views and value for input. Once we were joined to Kootenay (after the*

re-organisation) it started to fall apart. The new Superintendent was based in Radium and was not interested in local issues. He figured it could be left to the Townsite Manager – who didn't even live here. Anything out of the normal or controversial decisions were moved further and further away and further up the ladder. There was no effort to address things locally. Things were forgotten or left undecided due to lack of information. This sent a bad message to the residents and to members of the Board. It demonstrated a lack of worth.

The area should be managed by people living in the community but Parks is getting people coming in who don't care - its just a job. Some stay three to five years and those who are making the decisions don't live here at all. In the past, the Advisory Board met ten to fifteen times a year on a variety of issues, including the community plan. There are informal avenues for community input at present, but the Advisory Board is needed.

When I was conducting interviews in Lake Louise, during the summer of 2002, the LLAB was almost non-existent. There was a sense that the Board would be replaced with a new form of representation, but at that time it was uncertain what form it would take. Again, former Board members offered their opinions:

Parks has the ultimate say but we continue to voice our opinions, we need a meaningful forum in which to do it. Lake Louse is a weird place. We have a major transportation corridor; the railway runs through it, CP (Canadian Pacific) runs its own show. There are different agendas for CP, for the community and for the ski area. Someone needs to realize that we have a viable recreating community. There is rhetoric in the community plan for better input (Lake Louise resident).

With respect to an alternate form of representation I was told:

We had our first strategy meeting - the Superintendent didn't show to that either. His representative was visibly embarrassed but we carried on anyway. The meeting was by invitation only and I was the only community rep. This was the external strategy meeting for the community plan. I publicly resigned from the Advisory Board and yet Parks asked me to sit on this board. I was annoyed and protested the way Parks was diminishing respect with the slow process for replacement of the Advisory Board. We met at the airport hotel in Calgary not even in the community and very little came out of it.

In the early 1990s, before instructing managers to undertake the 15-year rewrite of the *Banff National Park Management Plan*, the Minister of Canadian Heritage thought it necessary that an extensive study of the Banff-Bow Valley be completed to determine the state of its environment. This was prompted by the high

national and international profile of Banff National Park and the accelerating level of conflict between developers and conservationists, much of which was featured in the daily newspapers. In 1994 the Banff Bow Valley Study (BBVS) commenced. The Minister appointed a five-member Task Force of 'experts', drawn from outside the park, who included three academics, a wildlife ecologist and an oil executive with experience in national studies on the environment. One feature of the study was a round table of representatives from fifteen sectors, including Siksika First Nations, tourism and marketing, park users, commercial outdoor recreation, commercial visitor services, Banff Town Council, social/health and education and transportation. According to the Task Force, this represented a shift from consulting the public to asking them to share the responsibility for making decisions about their national park (BBVS 1996:10). A moratorium was placed on development in the Banff Bow Valley for the duration of the study. Two years and 3 million dollars later the Task Force produced a report entitled *Banff at the Crossroads,* containing over 500 recommendations for future management. The study, intended to serve as the basis for the new management plan, was described by the Minister as "a unique contribution to helping us better understand the role that *science* plays in making our decisions. It will continue to be a source of inspiration for decades to come" (Parks Canada 1997, emphasis added).

The new park management plan, released in June 1997, included selected recommendations from the BBVS report. Perhaps the most dramatic and contentious actions were those intended to create a wildlife corridor at the base of Cascade Mountain (map 3). This involved removing the buffalo paddock, the airstrip and the army cadet camp, relocating the public and government horse corrals, closing trails and restricting use of certain areas. Cynically, one might think that these actions were

selected because of their high visibility to voters travelling on the Trans-Canada Highway who would no doubt be made aware of the Minister's actions to protect Banff National Park. Residents felt the brunt of the decisions. Banff's Mayor at the time, a long time resident and local historian, had this to offer:

> *The paper (BBVS Report) came out saying there was a potential animal corridor and the buffalo paddocks and the horse corral and the cadet camp were causing a bottleneck. Well look at the evidence to the contrary. There are wolf tracks and cougar tracks and bear tracks. The elk are always around there. All you had to do was perhaps not fence around the horse corrals. None of that area was used at night for anything, except the Cadet Camp, but statistically the number of animals that were there or the impact on the animal corridor was never discussed at the round table.*

Another concerned resident questioned whether the decisions complied with the national park mandate:

> *It looks like they are trying to block off the park from the people. The park was put here originally for the enjoyment of all people. Now they are trying to take it away.*

The President of the Banff Light Horse Association described the process to re-locate the public horse corrals thus:

> *They (Parks Canada) had a meeting with the (Banff Light Horse Association) club and they told us that it was sort of 'under duress'. They said that the new location that we had selected with them would be built and that it would probably cost an estimated 200 to 300 thousand dollars. It ended up being a million and a half but they said we would have to pay for that. We eventually ended up with a 40-year lease and all that money would be paid back to the Parks department by the club over that time. That's how it's done now. In addition to that money we still have to pay our club fees; it costs money to run that place, you know. There are 42 corrals. But the facility is very good. Can't criticize the facility. The location has some dangerous situations surrounding it. For instance, if you want to go to the west you have to cross a four-lane highway and if you want to go to the north you have to cross the Canadian Pacific Railway. And, once you've crossed the railway, you have to travel the highway fence, between the highway fence and the railway, and in some cases it's only about 30 feet from the rails. It takes 2 to 3 minutes to travel along that area and I have discovered that you won't hear a train. It can be upon you within a minute, before you realize it's there. Somebody is going to get tangled up there one day.*

An original member of the Banff Light Horse club was distressed at the lack of consideration demonstrated by Parks Canada and for the manner in which they in which they closed local trails to horse use:

> *They have closed off some of the historical trails at Hillsdale and Johnson Lake and closed them with no reason. We were never asked for our input, and the wardens doing the work just do it. They are safer than the trails they are letting us use. Mountain bikers and hikers still use that trail but not horses. Do they give you an explanation? They just give you a blank stare. They don't seem to know themselves. They've taken new green trees and laid them across some trails so we can't pass. It doesn't make much sense and they don't have an explanation.*

Numerous policies and decisions arose after the installation of the 1997 management plan. In June 26,1998, the Minister of Canadian Heritage made an announcement which resulted in amendments to the National Parks Act and the *Banff National Park Management Plan.*

- The boundaries of the Town of Banff were decreased by 17%, undeveloped lands designated environmental reserves and one block of developed land on Banff Avenue converted to an Environmental Education Centre. [18]
- The town would not exceed a population of 10,000.
- The 850,000 sq. ft. of development put forward in the Banff Community Plan was decreased to 350,000 sq. ft. and a moratorium was placed on commercial development in all national park town sites until community plans were approved.

Once again residents felt the brunt of the Minister's decisions. This was especially severe since a referendum, at which over 70% of the residents voted, confirmed an overwhelming majority in favour of a higher level of development. The Mayor who had championed the resident's right to decide through the referendum resigned his

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[18] Since that interview was conducted, the Minister responsible for the decision to reduce development and install an interpretive centre lost her seat in parliament. The lot designated for the centre, which sat vacant for over three years, is now being developed into a green space under the direction of the Banff National Park Superintendent.

position. Local Parks Canada officials were caught off-guard with no prior warning of the decisions. Several costly court actions ensued - a few of which are still unresolved. With respect to the appropriation of leases on Banff Avenue to build an Environmental Education Centre next door to the Banff Information Centre that already housed an extensive collection of educational and interpretive displays, residents had this to say:

> *Is it because we need another interpretive (education) centre or is it to get votes?*
>
> *Taking away all those leases to build another interpretive (education) centre, we have enough centres now, the leases will cost millions, the Minister just took it upon herself to order everyone around and get it her way. The residents need the security of their leases, it looks like the Town Council doesn't have very much power, we had a plebiscite with a good turn out but the results were ignored.*

But the Mayor who replaced the one who resigned supported the decisions, saying that the tide was turning in Banff's favour:

> *We can move on 350,000 sq. ft. of pure commercial growth, the town plan was signed off by Parks Canada. The town is now seen as a partner and a leader, that was not the case several years ago. (For residents) the town is easier to deal with on local issues.*

Following Ministerial approval of the 1997 management plan, park managers initiated an annual public forum to measure implementation from year to year. The roundtable format used for the BBVS was employed. Eighteen sector representatives were invited to sit 'at the table'; members of the public and media were invited to sit in the gallery. Sectors included: the hotel/motel association, park user groups, ski areas, local and national environmental organizations, adjacent lands (i.e. the province of Alberta), Banff Town Council, Sikiska First Nations, AMPPE and others. The forum was structured to commence with an opening statement from each of the sector representatives. This was followed by presentations by Parks Canada staff on what they deemed to be the pressing issues of the day and those areas where progress most

needed to be monitored. Following this sector representatives and Parks Canada staff took part in breakout sessions focussing on the selected issues. A summary of the discussion was compiled at the end of each forum. More is said on the annual management plan forum in the next Chapter.

In 1998, a Panel on the Ecological Integrity of Canada's National Parks was appointed by the Minister to identify issues and examine Parks Canada's approach relating to maintaining ecological integrity. The Panel concluded that national parks are under threat from stresses originating both inside and outside the parks and are in danger of further deterioration unless immediate actions are taken (Parks Canada Agency, 2000). The report, entitled *Unimpaired for Future Generations*?, revealed that Parks Canada lacked the necessary capacity in the natural and social sciences to effectively manage ecological integrity in the national parks (Parks Canada Agency, 2000). The Panel's focus on ecological integrity and their criticism regarding Parks Canada's capacity to manage it properly prompted a dramatic response. Bureaucratic discourse is now laden with the rhetoric of ecological integrity. The difficulty in defining ecological integrity has not prevented Parks Canada from incorporating it into the Act and almost every management plan, policy and guideline. This rhetoric also legitimates the exercise of power and the resources used to control management decisions. The recently amended Canada National Park Act states: "The maintenance or restoration of ecological integrity through the protection of natural resources and natural processes shall be the first priority of the Minister when considering all aspects of management of the park" (Section 8 (2) Canada National Parks Act). Though this does not displace the original mandate of human benefit, enjoyment and maintenance for future generations, it attempts to un-complicate decision-making. Environmental assessments on project proposals must demonstrate no net negative

environmental impact (NNNEI), which, interestingly enough, cannot be accurately measured. Hence the spirit of NNNEI is meant to suffice. Proposals are judged subjectively as to whether or not the NNNEI requirement is met, thereby respecting ecological integrity. There is a sense that bio-centric values will take precedence over the doctrine of usefulness and enjoyment as this new focus has been used to justify boundary changes, trail closures, rejection of development permits, and even an increase in park entry fees.

Since 1997, conflict over the approval of the Canadian Pacific's Chateau Lake Louise [19] conference centre has attracted significant national and international attention. Approved prior to the moratorium instituted during the BBVS, the project that will add 150,000 sq. ft. of commercial space to the Chateau Lake Louise is barely mentioned in the *Banff National Park Management Plan* (Parks Canada 1997: 61). Construction of the conference centre has created mixed feeling amongst residents. Some expect there will be a positive economic spin-off for other businesses in the area; others view this as evidence of a double standard. The Lake Louise Community Plan (Parks Canada Agency 2001b) places a limit on the amount of commercial accommodation permitted in both upper and lower Lake Louise. The conference facility will add 55 rooms to the Chateau Lake Louise, thereby reducing the number of units available to other accommodation providers. The Chateau Lake Louise caters to high-end tourists while other providers, the youth hostel in particular, attracts tourists from lower economic brackets. Parks Canada is seen to be giving preference to the Chateau and its clients over the less wealthy and influential business owner and traveller.

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[19] Canadian Pacific now owns Fairmont Hotels, hence the name has been changed to the Fairmont Chateau Lake Louise.

In 2001 the Minister approved the Lake Louise Community Plan, which had been prepared by Parks Canada officials. The Plan was completed after a long and arduous planning process that contributed to the demise of the Lake Louise Advisory Board. Briefly the plan governs development and limits growth in the community for the next 10-15 years. It sets the maximum population at 2000 and the maximum number of overnight visitors (tourists) at 2700. In addition to the Chateau development, the plan allows for an additional 58 guest rooms to be distributed throughout the visitor centre. A resident of Lake of Louise and part owner of Laggan's deli summed it up:

> *The community plan process was slow, not due to the locals, the report sat in Ottawa for the best part of a year. There were some big issues, the sewage treatment plan, the Chateau, three options for development; I doubt local knowledge would have helped. The sense of community suffered and fragmented. It puts upper Lake Louise in their own world.*

The NPA dictates that national parks will conduct a comprehensive review of their 15-year management plan every five years; the review will be subject to public consultation. The 1997 *Banff National Park Management Plan* therefore reached its five-year deadline in 2002. At the beginning of April 2003, amendments to the plan were presented for consultation. I found some aspects of the review disappointing, from a social science perspective and from a park-resident perspective. The proposed amendments addressed changes to human use guided by a draft framework for the conservation of grizzly bears. Capacity limits were placed on accommodation facilities outside the communities through direction on the redevelopment of existing visitor accommodation. Decisions outlined in the 2001 Lake Louise Community Plan were incorporated into the *Banff National Park Management Plan.* A broader suite of indicators was introduced to monitor changes resulting from management actions. The indicators fell under four headings: social, cultural, environmental and economic.

Social indicators were: human-wildlife interactions, human ecosystem interactions and human dimensions (statistical information on patterns of use). There were no cultural indicators. There were seven sets of environmental indicators, with as many as 16 subsets. Economics indicators were simply the operational budget and projected revenue. Public consultation in the park was limited to a four-hour open house in Banff and another in Lake Louise. Outside the park, there were similar open houses in Canmore and Calgary. Displays were set up in Vancouver and Edmonton. This met the legislated requirements for public consultation; however, I suggest it demonstrated a lack of regard for public input.

CHAPTER 6: AGENDAS AND VOICES

This chapter reveals the distinctive social, political and cultural agendas that bear on Banff National Park as a field of power. The voices of local residents, scientists, environmentalists and bureaucrats are successively presented, both in their own terms and in the context of dispute and contention with rival agendas.

Living in Banff National Park

Most obviously 'at home' in the national park are the people who permanently reside in the two communities of Banff and Lake Louise. Banff residents often express that living in a national park is a privilege and a responsibility; they consider themselves stewards of the park and hosts to the vast numbers of visitors. Residents have an ongoing relationship with a protected and treasured landscape that has special meaning to non-residents. As such, they are subject to ongoing and often critical scrutiny by outsiders. As Wockner points out "specific parks have been targeted by critics" (Wockner 1997:3). This is certainly true in the case of Banff National Park. Residents and park managers commonly refer to their 'life in the fish bowl'.

These are not typical western Canadian communities, nor are they intended to be. Residency requirements, limits to town boundaries and maximum populations for both Banff and Lake Louise are legislated parameters that set the stage for an exclusive community of 'insiders'. In fact, membership in the community is so exclusive that many outsiders do not even realize it exists. I recall a comment made by Michael Lambek, a fellow Canadian, following his presentation of a seminar paper at St. Andrews (October, 2003). When I told him I lived in Banff he replied: "I didn't think anyone was from Banff – it's just for tourists!" In pointing out his error, I

could have added that, according to the latest statistics the town of Banff has 7,135 residents. Almost half the residents are between the ages of twenty and forty with seniors over sixty-five making less than ten percent of the resident population. Over half the labour force is employed in the sales and service industry. Lake Louise has 1500 residents, with fewer seniors (only five) and sixty-five percent of the population engaged in the sales and service industry (www12.statcan.ca).

Banff National Park residents, like those living in any of Canada's national parks, must meet the legislated conditions of a need to reside clause. Briefly the clause defines an eligible residents as someone:

a) whose primary employment is in the park,

b) who operates a business in the park,

c) who retires in the park after five years of consecutive employment in the park,

d) who retires in the park and was a resident before 1981,

e) who is a student located in the park,

f) who is the lessee of public lands and was the lessee before 1911,[20] and

g) who is the spouse of any eligible resident.

While residents may own a dwelling, the land upon which it is situated is leased from the federal government, typically on 42-year renewal leases. The National Park Superintendent must approve property sales and exchanges, generally a formality, but the Superintendent does reserve the right to refuse reassignment of a lease if (s)he considers it is not in the best interest of the national park.

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[20] In 1911, national parks became a standalone department in the Canadian governmental system, writing specific national parks legislation. Land owned in a national park before this time is classified 'free-hold'.

Housing

Housing is an important community issue in Banff National Park. It is the responsibility of each business to provide 'appropriate' housing for staff. Unfortunately, the housing is often below standard, overcrowded and overpriced. Enforcing a housing standard has proven to be difficult, especially when constructing new housing is fraught with numerous regulations and approval processes. Limited availability of land and a legislated ceiling on town development in both communities compound the problem. House prices in Banff town are artificially high due to the set town boundaries and the attractiveness of the area. There is a high turnover rate among the resident population. Almost 50 percent of the residents move within five years. The overall cost of living is 8% higher for renters and 30% higher for home-owners than in other Alberta towns (Bruce 1996:23-28). The Town of Banff Residential Growth Management Study (1998) identified a housing shortfall of 419 units, based on presumed residential demand.[21] The study concluded that down-zoning would be needed to meet housing requirements, meaning more areas would be zoned for apartments. This is not in keeping with the scale and character of the majority of existing dwellings. Parcels of land that are physically impossible to build on further complicate zoning (IBI Group, 1998:9).

Following the 1997 announcement from the federal Minister reducing the town boundaries and level of re-development, Banff was declared as "a town with limited housing, shrinking boundaries and a high cost of living" (*Banff Crag and Canyon*, September 16, 1998; *Calgary Herald*, October 10, 1998). The lack of

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[21] The Town of *Banff Residential Growth Management Study* identified the following factors affecting residential demands: a) institutional growth, b) employees associated with commercial and institutional development in the park choosing to live in Banff, c) Banff employees moving to Canmore, and d) Parks Canada's ability to enforce the need to reside (1998:12).

affordable housing means that young people, who have grown up in Banff, are unable to continue living there. A young man, born and raised in Banff and in his third year of university, told me he felt he was being forced to work and live elsewhere if he wished to pursue a normal family lifestyle and career:

> *I see us getting out of town, unless you want to live in an apartment. Trying to stay in town is the challenge, staying or leaving and coming back here, because I'm in school. Maybe I can retire here but I doubt I'll find work here. I will want to come back here. .*

In sum, the lack of suitable housing has caused many professionals and semi-professionals such as nurses, school teachers and police working in Banff National Park to live elsewhere, making residents fear that eventually services will suffer. Elements of a healthy viable community – families, and opportunities for young and old to live side by side - are also in jeopardy. As a long-time Lake Louise resident concerned about the future well-being of his community, expressed it:

> *The village people are very divided, the sports and recreation centre is almost non-existent, and the day care no longer functions because there was insufficient accommodation for staff and it was financially difficult to operate with low numbers. So we have more transient staff and mature staff moves on.*

Living with wildlife

Banff, I suspect, is one of the few towns in the world where residents are called to a meeting to discuss ways to live with cougars and wolves. In December 2001, over 200 residents, myself included, gathered at a local hotel to hear from Parks Canada staff how best to avoid human-wolf or human-cougar encounters. Eighteen wolves and eight cougars lived on the outskirts of the town. The previous year a cougar killed a cross county skier near the townsite, and more recently two wolves were destroyed after numerous attempts to chase them out of town using rubber bullets failed. One young wolf ventured into town and killed a dog tied in a yard.

This all occurred on the heels of the removal of nearly 200 head of elk from the townsite in an attempt to divert additional human-wildlife conflicts. Staff speculated that competition for food was causing the wolves and cougars to become more aggressive, giving enough reason for residents to be informed on ways to avoid incidents. Residents were advised to report all sightings, supervise small children outdoors, keep dogs on leashes and not to venture into unlit areas after dark.

Disempowerment

In spite of various avenues for consultation and participation, residents feel they are ignored in favour of a national agenda that serves the bigger political picture. The avenues for public consultation have not effectively engaged Banff residents, as they feel disempowered and overwhelmed by 'experts' and 'outsiders'. They feel they have a wealth of experiential knowledge to contribute to decision-making processes; but decision-makers demonstrate little appetite to take advantage of this knowledge; the Banff Bow Valley Study is often used as an example of this. A respected senior member of the community and a volunteer member on the Banff Bow Valley Study Round Table soundly criticized the process for its deference to science. An engineer by training and manager of a large family-owned local hotel, this person had much to offer the process but was sorely disappointed at the attitude of the task force leaders. He took meticulous notes during the process which he used to support his position against the Task Force:

> *The BBVS (Banff Bow Valley Study) spent over $100,000 on scientific studies and nothing on social and community. If you truly want to make a difference you have to involve the community. In public meetings of special interest, scientists wield power in the guise of vigorous science; they need to be more humble.*

His views regarding the opposing forces of local input and scientific knowledge were echoed many times over:

> *We are never asked for our opinion on these things. We had the Bow Lake concession for 80 years. There were no changes in the environmental; no changes in the impacts, it was balanced. The human history doesn't mean shit.*

Ongoing monitoring of the Cascade corridor has shown that no positive effect has come from the removal of the facilities and that erosion caused by the clear-cut has created a potentially irreversible negative effect. As noted by a long time member of the Banff flying club and Banff Light Horse Association who spent considerable time in the area:

> *A scientific report came out saying there was a potential animal corridor and the buffalo paddocks and the horse corral and the cadet camp were causing a bottleneck. Well look at the evidence to the contrary. There are wolf tracks and cougar tracks and bear tracks. The elk are always around there.*
>
> *I feel dismissed in the stewardship that I have had for the park over the last thirty years and the care and real commitment that I feel for this park and environment.*
>
> *Until they (Parks Canada) pay you, you have no credibility. They maintain control over the information. There is a lack of understanding of local knowledge. Because it can't be qualified scientifically, local knowledge is a threat.*
>
> *Locals are uncomfortable speaking, it's how you play the game - and they are selective about the data they use. Experts are paid to make presentations, not so for locals. It's tough to express things in your own words and have anyone listen. It is intimidating with all the paid experts with academic credentials. There is certain terminology, exclusive terms.*

Another Banff-born resident in his fifties – the owner of a family business and someone active in the community – sees very real repercussions to the lack of empowerment:

> *Oh our town council represents us. But ultimately who's got the power? And they (Town Council) do as good a job as they can do but I mean locally what happens, they spend three or four years coming up with 650,000 sq. feet or whatever it was through a local referendum on development. They pass it, they get it through, and the environmentalists go to Ottawa and bitch - what happens. You know - it was turned right down well not turned down, but cut down to where they were happy. Who is they is the big thing, I mean there seems to be a group people deciding where we build, what we build and what we do.*

Certain actions have seriously undermined residents' trust in Parks Canada managers' abilities to select reliable advice and to make what residents consider 'logical' decisions; decisions based on evidence gathered over time that can be applied in a practical manner. In an article in the *Banff Crag and Canyon* June 20, 2001, interviewees identified as experts attending the first Human Use Management in Mountain Areas conference urged Parks Canada to "involve residents early in the (policy-making) process and share research to avoid knee-jerk reactions". Parks Canada responded with a door-to-door survey which got underway in August 2001 asking residents what trails they used for hiking, biking, cross country skiing and horseback riding. The survey indicated that the information would be examined along with ecological concerns and animal movements. The surveyors were from Newfoundland not the local population. Many of residents I spoke to were suspicious of the survey, feeling the information would be used against them to close more of their favourite trails on the basis that those trails were being 'overused'. It is interesting to note that during the conference, an argument ensued between a few of the over one hundred international 'experts' as to whether restrictions and closures or community education were the more effective means of 'controlling' residents.

When decision-making is removed from the local and field unit managers, stakeholders attempt to deal directly with the centralized level of bureaucracy that is ultimately making decisions. This results in the classic 'end run', avoiding local managers and dealing directly with politicians. This is not new for Banff National Park. As referenced in Eleanor Luxton's book on the history of Banff, local business owners were travelling to Ottawa to secure their interests with politicians shortly after the first park superintendent was appointed (Luxton, 1975: 6). During the 1970s and 1980s this was referred to as the '$139 solution' - the cost of an airline ticket to

Ottawa where developers presented their case to the Minister with the intent of reversing unfavourable decisions (Hildebrand, 1995:71). This informal route is generally reserved for a few residents with sufficient wealth and influence. Among many residents this creates a sense the business owners have a special opportunity to influence decisions and do so only to further their own interests. As expressed by a community service employee:

> *Businesses have a vested interest in keeping the community out. It (community's needs) is messy and threatening to comptrollers.*

Environmental and anti-development lobby groups also resort to the end run as a form of participation. Some members are politically well connected and are able to exercise an effective degree of influence over decisions - others nurture new contacts or attract politicians' attentions through effective use of the media.

Legal routes are often employed by both proponents and opponents for development to express dissatisfaction with Parks Canada's decisions, aiming to reverse or at the very least to discern what motivated a decision and scrutinize the process used to reach the decision. This route is confrontational, usually very expensive and rarely delivers a satisfactory resolution. For example, judicial review involves formal court proceedings after a government body has rendered a decision. Confrontational and cost aside, this process may provide recourse after a decision has been made and may influence future decisions. This route is being used more frequently as centralized decision-making becomes harder to understand or predict. It is symptomatic of Ministerial intrusion into the local decision-making process; decisions that logically should be made at the field unit level are instead being made at headquarters, in Ottawa, at the highest political levels. Thus ministerial decisions relating to the management of ski areas prompted judicial review. Governmental restrictions on development were announced in the midst of what was supposed to be

a collaborative approach to the development of ski area guidelines (involving the ski area operators) - an approach prescribed in the park management plan. To date this issue has not been resolved. Time lags in decisions, moratoria on development, and the decision to proceed with development of the conference centre at the Chateau Lake Louise all also instigated judicial reviews. [22]

In Canada, 'gazetting' the national publication of new or amended acts in the Gazette, is one of the fundamental steps involved in passing legislation; there is a ninety-day window of opportunity for Canadians to comment on proposed legislation that appears in the Gazette. Federal agencies and departments are required to Gazette changes such as fees in national parks and amendments to the National Parks Act, such as those that establish national park community boundaries and set limits on development and populations. 'Gazetting' was employed by local businesses and ski areas to respond to the latest amendments to the National Parks Act and the Canadian Environmental Assessment Act that addressed local governance, legislated boundaries for townsites and ski areas and ski area long-range plans.

People adversely affected by Parks Canada's decisions can also seek a federal court injunction, a discretionary remedy ordered by the courts. The test involves a balance between the harm which would occur to those directly affected by the decision if an order is not made, and the harm, which would be caused to the public at large by making the order (Lucas 1998: 182). Injunctions may be preliminary, thereby restraining the 'defendant' from commencing or continuing an action until the

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[22] Skiing Louise Ltd. et al v. HMTQ et al (T-928-1999), Shwartz Hospitality Group v HMTQ et al. (T-1552-98), Sierra Club, BEAR Society and Banff Bow Valley Naturalists v. HMTQ et al. and Canadian Pacific Fairmont Corporation (T-1209-98) and Bow Valley Naturalists v Canada (Minister of Canadian Heritage) Court of Appeal, Vancouver Dec. 4, 2000, Ottawa Jan. 10, 2001.

suit is decided, at which time the injunction may be perpetual or discharged. There are also mandatory injunctions, preventive injunctions and interlocutory injunctions. Interim injunctive relief may also be sought under the Canadian Environmental Assessment Act (Northey & Tilleman, 1998:264). This route has also been used in an effort to reverse the decision to proceed with the conference centre at the Chateau Lake Louise. Environmental groups recruited the assistance of the Siksika First Nations who have a land claim downstream from the Chateau, hence making them the affected party in a legal position to file an injunction (see page 151).

The Way Others See Them

Residents are very cognizant of the differences between the way they see themselves and the way others see them. On most days Banff and Lake Louise residents are the minority in their own home towns - outnumbered by visitors who may be envious of a lifestyle they perceive as 'always on holiday' or taking unfair personal advantage of beautiful scenery. Residents commented that:

> *There's a perception that the people in the town sites are the bad guys. When in reality it's these people who have been here who have protected the land. That how they are making their living.*

> *Outsiders think we are arrogant and uncaring – this is not true.*

The media is often blamed for the negative image that is painted of Banff residents.

The media misrepresents us – most people think we are money grabbers raking in the money day after day from all the tourists that walk up and down Banff Avenue, and that they have no connection with the park. I resent that; it makes me sick at heart.

Banff residents for a decade at least have had a bad rap and it is because a few people are outspoken and those are the ones the media picks up on. Everyone gets tarred with the same brush. A lot of people on the outside think we are just here to make money. We don't care about the mountains; we don't care about society, or animals or the rest of Canada. They think we are so much pond scum, rapacious, greedy. The Minister shares this view (former Banff Mayor).

Business owners in particular have much to say on this:

Just because you are a business owner you should be anti-parks. Environmentalists don't realize that business people care. If you are not a dyed in the wool environmentalist then nobody else cares. That is not true! They think we are an evil entity (Banff business owner).

The Calgary Herald is talking about this 850,000 sq. ft of development - I read an article in there where it was the same size as the Chinook shopping centre so I mean that's the perception from the people in Calgary. Property that's inside the 850,000 sq. ft. of commercial that was going to be developed - I would say 95% of it already has a development on it - the word shouldn't have been development. It should have been redevelopment. The perception of development then is that you're taking out something to put something in. So the people in Calgary and Ontario think we're up here with the bulldozers knocking down trees and moving half the mountains to develop but we're not (Banff business owner).

Residents are very aware of the national and international spotlight on Banff National Park; they are also aware of how its importance, both national and internationally, plays out in national politics. The political utility of the national park was employed by the Minister in her many decisions that served to demonstrate a dedication to the protection of nature and Canada heritage – by imposing bigger and better restrictions on development and use in Banff National Park. This was considered micro managing and hamstringing by local mangers who were more engaged with guessing the Minister's next action than with using their own best judgement to make more appropriate decisions. It was clear to residents and local

managers that the Minister was motivated by an opportunity to use BNP as a device to attract votes in eastern Canada. In effect, residents – a very small part of the voting population - were greatly outnumbered by voters who may never experience the park for themselves but see that it must be protected from the locals. Banff residents are concerned that area closures and fear-mongering over the future of natural resources are giving themselves and the national park a bad reputation; meanwhile the Minister is painted as Saint Sheila of the parks who is rescuing nature and wilderness.

Banff's unique characteristics, and the local knowledge acquired over a long history of national park management, attracted the attention of BBC Radio Scotland reporter Mark Stephen who arrived in Banff in the summer of 2002 to interview business owners, residents and park managers. Advice was sought on how the Cairngorms might address some of its current and pending issues. Mark Stephen commented at the opening of the program, "that with the funicular,[23] plus other problems, we cannot be the first national park to deal with these issues. We are here in Banff National Park to get a good look at Banff's mistakes and solutions."

Featured on the program, Parks Canada managers, Banff business owners and residents offered the following insights:

> *We try to predict management impacts but we are not even close* (Park warden).
>
> *Positions over park issues are polarized. There are avenues for various interests to come together but the hard-core environmentalists and businessmen are still polarized* (staff at the Centre for Mountain Culture).
>
> *Without a doubt there are increased monies in the area because of the park* (employee at the Banff Centre)

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[23] He was referring to the funicular style railway installed on the Cairn Gorm at the Cairngorms ski area.

The way forward is to get everyone in one room, find common ground. What is important to everybody? (manager of a prominent local business)

Have a clear purpose and repeat it (local historian).

Be clear on what the park is for (Park Superintendent).

National interests are not the same as local interests. There is not one common interest (environmentalist).

Mark Stephen concluded that: "This is about who we believe we are. It is bigger than typical politics."

In spite of numerous frustrations, Banff National Park residents feel privileged to call the national park their home, as mentioned earlier. Banff residents care for the well being of the national park and their communities. They appreciate the unique position they are in, linked to a landscape that has been set aside as special and worthy of protection. They acknowledge the broader audiences connected to the land they live on. Of particular importance to this thesis are those people/agents who make up the science, environment and bureaucracy 'audiences'. Like others who could be considered 'at home' (for example frequent visitors) they have a vested interest in Banff National Park, unlike others they have a direct link to formal channels of decision making and exercise a discernable degree of power.

Science and Scientists

Through western cultural values of rationality, science plays a central supportive role for decision makers, particularly for those who are making at-risk decisions in the public's interest; science generally upholds biocentric values regarding human's place in parks. Recently, the Government of Canada published guidelines for all federal agencies, designed "to ensure that government decisions are based on sound scientific advice and, as a result, will restore public confidence"

(Council of Science and Technology Advisors 1999). A recent review of Parks Canada's in-house science program in Banff National Park emphasizes the importance of science in decision-making, claiming that the maintenance or restoration of ecological integrity relies on sound scientific advice (Seutin and Woodley 2002: 3). When asked for his opinion on decisions made regarding the Cascade wildlife corridor, one Park's Canada manager replied: "I think that if we tried to make those decisions without a massive amount of science and monitoring and applied science we would never have gotten to first base." This confidence in the power of science is evidenced in the list of Banff National Park Research Projects for 1999-2004 (internal document) which is entirely devoted to the natural sciences. In Banff National Park, human use strategy centered on the health and well-being of grizzly bears once again emphasizes the importance of science in decision making. Clearly science and scientists are 'at home' in Banff National Park.

Scientists employed by Parks Canada in Banff National Park are, for the most part, conservation biologists who specialize in carnivores, ungulates or aquatics. There are others, botanists and biologists, who practice their disciplines in the broader sense. Many of the full time scientists live in Canmore, a community just outside the park boundaries (this is linked to the high cost of housing in Banff). The majority worked for Parks Canada for several years before taking time out to complete advanced degrees in their specialties. Each year outside scientists are brought in to assist with research projects or to pursue their own research agendas, which must be approved by Parks Canada. Many of the 'outsiders' are graduate students who may only spend one season in the park. Importantly there are outside researchers who have banked on the utility of Banff National Park – with its international status and high profile - to further not only their research agendas but their advocacy.

Conservation biologists are sometimes referred to as mission–orientated researchers (Cooper et al 2002:3). A point of interest is that conservation biology has its roots in deep ecology. Its advocacy incorporates the fundamental shift in ethics towards a new understanding of what natural resources and parks are for (Gibeau 2000:49). This shift is in line with a departure from an ethic that professes that land appropriated for the protection of wilderness presumes that "nature requires the absence of human activity and at best the absence of people, hence polices of exclusion and control of the human populations" (O'Neil 2002:40). But humans, like all organic entities, should submit themselves to the laws of nature. According to Parks Canada's head carnivore researcher:

> *They (national park managers) are now realizing that the traditional biologists fall short in providing information to the decision–makers. To a conservation biologist, the impact of humans is part of the equation.*

For many in the scientific community conservation biology's power and influence is highly overrated; they consider it is subject to the whims of bureaucracy. Banff National Park's conservation biologist and grizzly bear specialist, Mike Gibeau, told me: "Scientists assume if they provide the information it will be used but that is not the case; decision-makers are not familiar with the technical aspects and do not know how to interpret the data and put it into the decisions." He accepts his status amongst other scientists is compromised when "I get more in their (bureaucrats) face - I push harder. Does that make me an advocate because I am pushing an agenda? To get science used you need to keep key people in the loop and develop a long-term relationship." He went on to discuss the pathology of command and control management. Mike generously provided me with a copy of an essay he had prepared while completing his PhD, remarking "Here's what I think of the system."

Mike's paper focuses on cyclic incrementalism, which he describes as "an off-shoot of successive limited comparisons coined by Charles Lindblom in 1959 to describe a policy process based on differing values systems where administrators were left to muddle through policy making without first clarifying the objectives." It is a result of first restricting one's focus to small variations from present policy, making the most of limited knowledge, and second, ignoring possible consequences of potential polices and the values attached to the neglected consequences. In other words, decisions and the changes they initiate are always based around current policy. This scientist sees grizzly bear management in the Rockies as a prime example of cyclic incrementalism, notably on the matter of grizzly bear habitat. The one advantage to cyclic incrementalism as a process is that it represents repeated opportunities to learn and adapt a policy to new and better information. However Mike sees more evidence of Parks Canada managers demonstrating the disadvantages of the system, never really solving the problem and ignoring 'excellent' policy simply because it does not fit with the chain of successive policies. He suggests scientifically supportable decisions are traded for the self-interest of the bureaucrats

Parks Canada's decisions to impose restrictions, based on 'sound scientific advice', prompts a predictably negative reaction from residents and visitors who frequent the areas affected. Those outside the scientific community are becoming increasingly critical of policy makers' reliance on science and the irrefutable defence, by recourse to science, for actions undertaken with respect to the betterment and/or maintenance of natural resources. Following the completion of the Banff Bow Valley Study and more recently the national park annual forums, residents and spokespersons from various interest groups enthusiastically offered their views on Parks Canada's science centred approach to policy making (Reichwein 1998). At public forums and

in letters to the editor of the local paper, residents criticize this approach on the grounds that it eliminates opportunities for their involvement. This situation incited one resident, Doug Leighton, a photographer and avid mountain enthusiast, to conduct a thorough review of the scientific knowledge supporting Parks Canada decisions. In his report, entitled *Grizzly Bears at Lake Louise, Banff National Park, Central Rockies Ecosystem: Models and Reality* (2000), he challenges the accuracy of the scientists' data. His tenacious approach to 'exposing' the mis-use of science by both scientists and decision-makers has earned him a certain respect amongst residents, who are also pleased with the frustration he is causing Parks Canada managers and scientists.

Writing from what I discern to be the scientists' perspective and in support of more and better science to solve problems, Lawrence Susskind (1994), considered the Harvard 'expert' on environmental policy, makes a plea for better balance between science and politics. He regrets the lack of scientific fact evident in policy-making processes. He attributes this to scientific uncertainty about complex issues that, because of their utility in serving political agendas, require predictable futures. "When scientists acknowledge uncertainty, they allow political actors greater control over decision making" (Susskind 1994: 64). While he refers to international environmental negotiations, he mirrors the situation on more local levels. According to Susskind there are four relevant political processes here: issue definition, fact finding, bargaining, and regime strengthening (1994:62). Science should play a prominent role in issue definition. In the second stage, fact finding should be shared between scientists and politicians, as scientific information will be challenged by bureaucracies (and, I suggest, communities and other groups, and constituents) that have their own reasons for opposing action. However, Susskind acknowledges that, "This brings

competing experts into conflict with each other, triggers a problematic deterioration in the level of trust among the stakeholders and undermines the public's willingness to give significant weight to scientific considerations" (Susskind 1994: 62). Further,

> The press and the general public, unable to discern the significance of intramural disagreements among experts, assume that it is unwise or unsafe to move ahead until the 'full truth' emerges. The insights that are available are then brushed aside. (Susskind 1994:64).

Susskind also identifies those scientists who pursue personal agendas, using uncertainty to extend their research on the grounds that more must be known - and those who relish confrontation, especially debates that put them at the centre of attention. This rings true of the situation in Banff National Park.

> Perhaps the best examples of the pursuit of personal agendas and the fondness for debate is provided by scientists who are advocates. The Canadian Rockies Wolf Project is an active and outspoken collection of scientists and advocates focussing on the protection of wolves in Banff National Park and the adjacent areas. The organization makes productive use of symbolic capital such as the iconic status of the wolf and wilderness, the anthropomorphism of the wolf, and the validity of science. This is coupled with the skilful use of media and target groups. A website entitled www.graywolf.ca encourages readers to adopt a wolf. Targeted at school children, the wolves are given names such as Stormy, Smokey, Kali and Yukon. "For an annual fee sponsors receive quarterly updates on 'their' wolf and its pack. Sponsors also receive a territory map and a subscription to the newsletter, *Howlings*". According to the website, there are over 1800 sponsors, including individuals, families, businesses and schools. Researchers estimate there are sixty to seventy wolves in the national parks, another twenty-five to forty in the foothills, which, based on their calculations,

means 3-4 wolves per 1000 sq. km., "which is among the lowest density in the world" (I ask the reader to keep in mind the special measures being taken within the town of Banff and surrounding areas to prepare residents and visitors for possible wolf encounters due to the rapid increase in the wolf population). Monies are used to fund research conducted by a team of biologists and research students. The campaign aggressively highlights the declining numbers of wolves and the animals' high (72%) human caused mortality. Press releases and the website announced the death of Stormy, Kali and Yukon, in much the same way one would announce a family death. This is clearly an example of applied anthropomorphism - a form through which we apply our perspective on what it is like to be some other being (Mullan and Marvin 1987: 14). Thanks to loosely worded research agreements, that did not address regular and timely sharing of data with national park staff, they (the staff) were receiving information on the wolf project via the media, just like everyone else. On several occasions Parks Canada spokespersons found themselves ad-hoc defending wolf researchers whose (supposedly) 'sound science' was contributing to park policy.

Off the record, researchers eventually admit the future of the wolf in the central Rockies 'looks good.' In a recent radio interview one of the principle researchers emphasized the demise of the Bow Valley pack, though, with further questioning from the reporter, he was forced to concede that while alpha members of the pack had died the off-spring had relocated and were flourishing in other areas of the valley (CBC Radio interview April 2004). The Wolf Project has been actively campaigning for several years to have sections of the Trans-Canada Highway through Banff National Park elevated to accommodate wolf migration. Effective manoeuvring in the media, focussing on the wolf as a symbol of the mountain wilderness in danger of extinction, resulted in Parks Canada hiring a consultant to estimate the costs. The

impracticalities of such an action are numerous given that the busy highway conveys all types of vehicles in seasonal road conditions, not to mention the fact that the rail line running adjacent to the highway is, according to researchers' statistics, as responsible for wolf mortality as the highway.

On one occasion the owners of Norquay ski area were prepared to undertake privately funded research to discern the wildlife movements through their property. This was intended to demonstrate that animals were still using the delineated corridor and in fact would continue to do so even if summer use at the area was restored. The owners were advised that all related wolf research had to be approved by the Chairman of the Central Rockies Wolf Project, as the Chairman has an exclusive foothold over the research territory. In conversations I had with other scientists, the Chairman is accused of "using his science hat to promote his work for international funding organizations (i.e. World Wildlife Fund); he defines an end-point and homes in on it".

When scientists abuse the trust that society has inherently placed in them, when experts argue in public, and when evidence and methods are bent to suit personal and political objectives, the scientific community becomes just another interest group. Susskind claims that scientists who work for NGOs, while known to have a pro-environmental bias, are still respected and would not risk fabricating data as it would undermine their credibility and long-term career prospects (Susskind 1994:72). However, he goes on to suggest some practical approaches in order to counteract advocacy scientists, such as peer review and multi-tiered advisory groups. Disagreements can of course be productive as there is the opportunity for more data to come to the table and the end result can be a better-informed outcome (ibid 1994:75). However I suggest that this depends upon the scientists themselves being open-

minded. Clark et.al. (2001) considers that politicians and NGOs should hold scientists accountable for peer review. Indeed one of the most common criticisms from interest groups and residents is the lack of sufficient peer review. Parks Canada's efforts to introduce and then implement ongoing peer review of science conducted in the national park, has not been successful in the eyes of the public. To many it appears that peer review is not taking place as obvious errors remain unchallenged and the reviewers are not named – not normal in most academic practice.

It is important to note that not all the biologists in Banff National Park are either narrowly focussed or advocates. The veterinarian contracted to perform autopsies on wildlife explained that one of his primary interests is setting up a protocol for wildlife research. He and his staff are involved with monitoring and necropsy in order to set up a database of information on wildlife disease. They facilitate workshops for Parks Canada staff and wildlife researchers, they work with agencies in the US, with whom they exchange data. Operating independently, they incorporate parks staff only to the extent required. They find that some of their recommendations are acted upon while others are not. He feels the data they are collecting could be improved with more co-operative research and with access to the data being available to the other research bodies in the park. Ideally they could set up a scrutinizing committee based on protocols for the safe and humane handling of wildlife and for the recording of wildlife sightings that would involve local people. He agreed that transparently unbiased data would increase researchers' credibility with local people.

Environmentalism and Environmentalists

"Environmentalism, as a discourse, is the field of communication through which environmental responsibilities are constituted" (Milton 1993: 9). It is a modern movement that attracts a certain type of dedicated individual, while sustaining broad but often shallow support from the general public. [24] Eva Berglund advises that one "looks at environmentalism as a heightened awareness of the negotiability of human relationships" (1998:7). In contrast to science, environmentalism constitutes a moral lobby in that it "advocates laws that embody ethical and perhaps even religious ideals concerning the way we ought to treat our natural surroundings" (Sagoff 1995: 169). As symbolic capital, environmental discourse is persuasive in that it imparts emotion and ethics to the human-nature relationship, and often challenges one's social position.

As noted earlier, a conservation ethic in Banff National Park emerged during the late 1960s. The movement gathered enough momentum and power to influence decisions relating to ski area development in the park. Since that time, environmentalism has secured a solid position in the wider society, and replaced the term conservation in local references. That environmentalism has a role to play in national parks is now unchallenged, partly because it resonates with Parks Canada Policy that promotes environmental sustainability over economic or social sustainability, as instanced in recent discussions, primarily linked to the future of national park ski areas. The social agents who most obviously engage with environmental ethics and environmental discourse are, naturally, the environmentalists. It is 'understood' that they 'belong' in national parks as the watch

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[24] As per Harries-Jones (1993:43), a nation-wide poll of Canadians revealed that while 87% were concerned about some environmental issues, 20% are committed to making lifestyle changes to protect the environment and 2-5% contribute to environmental groups.

dogs for management's actions. To date, full time environmentalist's have not been challenged on their need-to-reside in Banff National Park. 'Outside'/non-resident environmentalists also play an active role in park management through the publication of environmental tacts or through actual engagement with park mangers or the central government agencies. Both local and national ENGOs are assigned seats at public consultation roundtable events staged by Parks Canada.

One of the more influential environmentalist non-government organizations (ENGOs) in Canada and Banff National Park is the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society (CPAWS). Through its membership, CPAWS maintains solid connections to the hierarchy of Canadian politicians and policy-makers. CPAWS submits reports and articles to journals and government agencies and its representatives sit on national roundtables on the environment. The organization's influence was revealed during its extensive campaign to dramatically increase the boundary of Waterton Lakes National Park on the British Columbia/Alberta border. Governments in Washington and Ottawa were lobbied for support, and attractive brochures were produced and broadly distributed in both countries. Presentations in support of expansion, and linked to the larger Yellowstone to Yukon connectivity campaign, were made in the proposed expanded area, to universities and at conferences. This obviously well-funded and professionally orchestrated effort failed but not before Parks Canada was embroiled in a public consultation process, a technical review of the resources in the area and several other activities to gauge the feasibility of such a move. The defining moment however came when residents in the area spoke out against the acquisition of the lands and resources for a national park. This local reaction reflected unexpected public sentiments on the purpose and image of national parks.

The Banff Bow Valley Naturalists (BBVN) is a more locally based

environmental group. Their long-time presence in the Banff area and a demonstrated ability to make a measurable contribution, be it through bird counts or volunteer trail work, has earned them respect in a community that often feels put-upon by environmentalists. "At least they get out there and do something instead of just whining", is a comment I often heard. The BBVN boasts over 100 members, though only the president and his wife seem to speak on their behalf. When the president managed to postpone Parks Canada's 2002 burn program for the Fairholme range, based on his review of what was an incomplete environmental assessment, there were interesting reactions. The program is controversial and attracts considerable local criticism and so many were glad that the burn that was planned so close to town, for reasons they did not accept, was shut down. Parks staff and others who were convinced that this burn was essential to regenerate growth and the only line of defence against pine beetle, were frustrated by the BBNV's ability to successfully challenge the scientific experts, the review process and their forest management program. In a more ambitious venture, the BBVN teamed with other ENGOs to legally challenge the Minister's approval for construction of a conventions centre on the shores of Lake Louise. Other Banff National Park organizations include Under the Sleeping Buffalo (UTSB), the Banff Environmental Action and Research (BEAR) Society, and the Protect Our Rare Community Heritage (PORCH) Society. These organizations, rumoured to be funded by the same donor, have many of the same members, some of whom also belong to international organizations like Earth First!, Greenpeace, and the Sierra Club. As noted by Harries-Jones:

> There is a network of environmentalists linking larger environmental groups with big profiles to the smaller groups with local issues. It is not unusual to find environmental supporters have membership in several environmental

organizations and the ENGO activists themselves do not belong exclusively to one organization (Harries-Jones 1993:50).

In Banff, local ENGOs engaged with the public and target agencies using mechanisms that include: protests, civil disobedience, media campaigns, legal action, formal participatory channels and rallies. Protests generally occurred when the Minister of Canadian Heritage was in town on business, which happened a few times each year. One incident involved organization members dressed like wildlife, mostly bears and elk, in the Banff Springs Hotel parking lot; this was a protest against development in general. Another incident involved protesters dressed as houses to protest the removal of houses in the townsite to make way for multiple residence dwellings; this was the debut of the PORCH Society. Another incident involved protesters dressed as bears at the Lake Louise World Cup event, the purpose being to draw attention to ski area development and summer use at the ski area which was seen to have serious impacts on the local grizzly population. These protests were peaceful and as with any small town, in spite of the costumes, the protestors were easily identified by other residents. The local media took photographs, which appeared in the local newspaper, thereby drawing some extra attention to the issues.

The environmental movement relies heavily on the effective use of broadcast media to relay its message(s). ENGOs have moved well past writing letters to the editor, and can usually attract a reporter's attention for an article. Headlines such as "Experts call for cut in wilderness recreation", "Habituated elk face death", and "The Battle for Banff"[25] are typical. Reporters routinely consult with local ENGOS before

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[25] Articles in, respectively, the *Banff Crag and Canyon* June 13, 2001; January 6,2004, and *Alberta Views*, July/August 2001.

writing their articles; it is an assurance of controversy that sells newspapers. "Influence is coincident with media coverage of their activities" (Harries-Jones 1993: 43). Shock titles and graphic pictures are used to spark emotive responses from the public that will ideally lead to the powerful lobby needed to influence decision and policy-makers. As well, media are used to expose government/agencies wrongdoings in a timely manner thereby achieving the upper-hand and giving the public an 'inside' view of a 'situation'. Subsequent denials by those accused generally receive a lesser headline and less publicity. Media events are staged. In the international arena Greenpeace with their eco-dramas using the *Rainbow Warrior* (Harries-Jones 1993:51) are, perhaps the masters of this and environmentalists in both Banff and the Cairngorms have employed lesser versions of this type of strategy. An example from Banff is the protest in 1996 against sending a grizzly bear (identified as bear 16) to the Calgary Zoo – the bear, habituated to humans, was too often in the townsite and campgrounds and hence posed a threat to human safety. Local environmentalists staged events on Banff Avenue and at the Calgary Zoo seeking the bear's release from the zoo. In an article entitled, *Liberty or death demanded for caged bear 16,* a Banff reporter relates how protesters created a mock-up of bear 16 in prison and waved signs and banners that compared national parks to tombs. The reporter quotes a member of the BEAR society who "would rather see him (bear 16) killed than face life imprisonment". The day was considered a success because BEAR Society members gave five radio interviews and two television interviews. Forty-five minutes after the protest-event started, a member of the Western Canada Wilderness Committee was quoted blatantly asking the reporters, "Are you done yet? Because when you're done, we're gone. This is all for the media" (*Banff Crag and Canyon*, July 17, 1996).

Other actions had more serious repercussions. While clearing the site for the relocation of the Parks Canada and public horse corrals, an initiative promoted by the BBVS and included in the *Banff National Park Management Plan* to reduce human activity in the Cascade Corridor, the machinery being used was seriously damaged when sand was poured into the tanks. This was particularly confusing for local people, including park managers, as environmentalists had been the primary proponents for relocating the corrals, in spite of local objections. The contractor was local and did not carry a large amount of insurance on his equipment. The result was personal financial damage. Sabotage by radical environmental activists has prompted most construction project managers to employ a security system. During the expansion of the Trans Canada Highway through the national park, contractors either moved equipment to secure locations, a time consuming and hence costly process, or employed security guards to man the construction site during off hours. Their fears were not unfounded; trees slated for removal to facilitate the widening of the highway were spiked.[26] The prime suspects were members of Earth First!, present in the area at the same time; however, nothing was ever proven. Sophisticated protest techniques were being practiced prior to the G8 Summit staged outside the national park. Members of Ruckus and Co-motion tutored interested 'advocates' on how to suspend themselves from tripods strategically centred above the highway surface and how to secure oneself to machinery or other infrastructure. While this was publicised in the local media and hence garnered some attention, the activists did not resurface once the Summit began. Banff gained some notoriety as the new training centre for radical protesters.

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[26] Large metal nails (or spikes) are driven into the trunk of the tree to a depth that makes it difficult to see the head of the nail. Chainsaw operators clearing the trees to make room for highway expansion connect with the nails, often causing severe damage to the chainsaw and injury to the operator.

Representatives of national and local ENGOs, including the BBVN, UTSB and the BEAR Society, are invited to meet on a monthly basis with senior managers from the national park, a privilege that is not extended to other interest groups. One could suppose that this is based on the managers' preference to address issues with the ENGOs via this face-to-face format rather than via the media. ENGOs have a seat on most committees, including the annual national park forum, and committees on transportation and ski area re-development. It is through these committees that they have had a marked influence on the park's human use policy. However, according to Harries-Jones, this style of formal engagement is seen to stack the cards *against* the ENGOs, as co-opting means that the establishment's rhetoric of 'participation' and 'stakeholder' is upheld (Harries-Jones 1993:54). This limits the ENGOs' opportunities to challenge the government's lack of integrated decision-making, a popular and sometimes successful strategy that typically delays and/or detours the process at hand.

The UTSB and the BEAR Society in particular rely upon secondary source research and maintain files of publications on relevant topics; obviously neither they nor any other NGO can conduct the primary source research needed to respond in a timely manner to emerging issues, and the information used typically varies widely in quality (Yearly 1993:70; Cramer 1987:50). Lack of funding and commitments to too many projects cause such organizations to request more time for review. Parks Canada often feels obliged to grant extensions because often the ENGO is the only public commentary and refusal may shed a negative light on Parks Canada Agency public consultation process. This never sits well with the project proponent who is bearing the costs of the stringent environmental assessment and review process. Prime examples of this are ski area development proposals submitted to the Advisory

Development Board. Infrastructure repairs and replacement on ski hills must be undertaken within a seasonal timeframe; more than once this window of opportunity has been lost due to stalling of the approval process by ENGOs.

Parks Canada managers consider ENGOs a rather frustrating lot, instead of the idealized helping hand that ENGOs claim they want to be. Ongoing consultation is time consuming and typically laced with confrontation. Some environmentalists will readily admit what they do best is confront policy makers and authorities. While Parks Canada managers are busy with day-to-day operations, it is perceived that the environmentalists have little else to do but home in on managers' mistakes. The constant criticism and suspicion mongering takes its toll, especially in a small town where one often feel compelled to 'take a side'. Perceptions of ENGOs weighty influence on human use policy in the park prompted the Fraser Institute to publish a report entitled, "Are radical environmentalists shutting down Canada's national parks" (2000). The authors make a concerted effort to 'expose' environmentalists as distorters of "common sense understanding of environmental protection and ecological integrity." In their report representatives of the Institute deconstruct Parks Canada's use of science to support environmentalists' agendas of dramatically reducing human use and commercial development in the national parks – Banff National Park in particular. They cite a growing influence of radical environmentalists in Parks Canada's policy as the primary reason for this shift. By approaching initiatives, policy reviews and issues from an academic stance, the report was granted a certain legitimacy that 'letters to the editor' could never achieve. Parks Canada issued an official response that announced their intention to review the report and its criticisms carefully. A review of the science program was initiated in 2000 partly in response to this and other public criticism being levied; proof that sound

science was important could ease the inference/accusations that environmentalists were 'running' the parks.

The most important form of action taken is legal advocacy – securing a court injunction or environmental review (Harries-Jones 1993: 44). In the case of the construction of the Fairmont Hotels conference centre on the shores of Lake Louise, groups joined forces and obtained support from the Sierra Legal Defence Fund. This was an important move as, according to Yearly, reputable environmental organizations will fund campaigns with a high profile (1993: 67). The publicity accorded a court case that challenged a large corporation such as Fairmont Hotels suited Sierra's agenda. When the case founded on breaches of Canadian Environmental Assessment Act (CEAA) process was lost, an appeal was launched and another suit was filed, this time in partnership with the Siksika First Nation who have a land claim down stream from the site. The land claim provides the Siksika with 'directly affected status' granting them the right to file an appeal under the CEAA. While the involvement of a First Nation served as symbolic capital needed to continue the suit, it also carried social significance for the ENGOs who adopted the popular concept that indigenous peoples have a greater respect for nature than non-indigenous peoples. However, the Siksika First Nation unilaterally withdrew the suit against Fairmont Hotels in the summer of 2003. No clear explanation was given other than that their land claim in the park was far more important and required their complete attention. As outlined by Harries-Jones:

> Communication between aboriginal groups and environmental activists is generally poor, partly as a result of the absences of unified environmental policy among First Nations and partly as a result of personality conflicts between environmentalists and Indian leaders. There is also a clash of cultural

aspirations. (First Nations) leaders object to environmentalists seeing the struggle of First Nations as a sort of surrogate wish-fulfilment of the new environmental age. First Nations accuse environmentalists of being shamanistic in the wrong sense of that term; of calling upon spiritual powers to heal social and political maladies. Spokespersons for environmental

> movement have transformed Indian respect for land and communitarianism into a cult-like vision of new age spirituality. Traditional forms of respect among First Nations in placing the good of the group before the individual are misappropriated and translated into an entirely different set of understandings (Harries-Jones 1993: 49).

Relating to their moral stance, many environmentalists subscribe to an ideology that imparts to themselves the social status of 'answering to a higher order'. Supported by this supposition, "ardent environmentalists need no proof to feel sure their cause is supreme" (Lowenthal 2000: 210) and should take unquestioned precedent over others' environmental discourse(s). "Environmentalists characteristically embrace certain creeds about nature, people and culture. These creeds defy evidence or reason; some are demonstrably false. But they are taken as true because they are deeply desired" (Lowenthal 2000: 203). The environmentalist assumes that the values that (s)he ascribes to the national parks (independence, self reliance, self restraint) are widely shared by the public.

> He is in fact a prophet for a kind of secular religion who says: 'Follow me and I will show you how to become the sort of person you really want to be. I will show you that nature, taken on its own terms, has something to say that you will be glad to hear.' The preservationist (environmentalists) is not an elitist who wants to exclude others. He is a moralist who wants to convert them (Sax

1980:15).

This moral high ground takes the publics' acceptance or rejection of objectives past the realm of rational judgement; morality becomes a tool for leverage.

Environmental discourse may use exaggeration to sway an audience who has little or no first hand knowledge of the circumstances and/or environmental issues being described. Terms like "endangered", "threatened" and "dire" are used to impart a sense of immediacy and fear. "Mystiques suffuse environmental concerns and media hype elevates that concern to catastrophe. Urgency is assumed" (Lowenthal 2000: 210). As Benson states:

> I think it is fair to say that environmental ethics has been unduly crisis-orientated. Its growth has been accompanied by a rising consciousness of and anxiety about the serious threats to human well-being and to the well-being of other species posed by pollution and destructive exploitation of natural resources. There is a tendency to focus on supposed imminent catastrophes (Benson 2000: 12).

According to Lomborg "Environmental exaggeration has serious consequences. It makes us scared and it makes us more likely to spend our resources and attention solving phantom problems while ignoring real and pressing issues" (Lomborg 2001: 4). Members of the public attending a Banff National Park annual forum raised this concern regarding the Banff Bow Valley Study (BBVS) Report which had substantial environmentalist input.

> First Banff resident: *The Bow Valley Study predicted great increases in park visitors. This has not happened, but we continue to believe that 'increased visitation' is placing the park in 'dire straits'. Actual occurrences have shown that the park is more resilient than first thought and that the visitation is not increasing at the predicted rate. Wolves are even moving in and using the wildlife corridors and wildlife crossing structures. We also have a drop in day*

use[27] *in some areas that should create new capacity.*

Second Banff resident*: The human use document (based on BBVS predictions) frightens me quite a lot. We are talking about 'caps'. They are limiting people's ability to use the park. I do not see a willingness to look at other opportunities as you are closing things down. The tourism industry is on its knees, September 11 did not help, and needs greater consideration. Ecological integrity is important, but human contact with the park is the way to keep the park in the forefront of people's minds.*

Response from a Banff environmentalist*: There should be no corners to cut on ecological integrity to assuage hard times for the local tourism industry.*

This is one example of how a pending crises was exaggerated and then used to influence policy. Throughout the forum there was an insistence on the part of residents that data in the BBVS be reviewed and updated as predictions were clearly exaggerated and were now proven to be inaccurate. The environmentalist's response demonstrates a focus on broad (but thin) universal concepts of ecological integrity versus local economic issues.

In Banff National Park, ENGOs call upon the land's prestige - not just the national park status but its World Heritage Site status – as symbolic capital to emphasise the heightened responsibility for decision-makers. They also employ scientific knowledge and/or local knowledge depending upon the circumstances, and, as noted above, they invoke, where appropriate, the standing of others – in this case First Nations peoples. Environmentalist ethics also symbolically invoke perceived attitudes towards the environment in wider society when these resonate with desired societal and policy changes. A notable ethical position is that plants and animals (non-sentient beings) cannot represent themselves in the decision-making processes that directly affect their wellbeing and hence humans must act on their behalf. This intriguing combination of biocentricity and anthropocentricity is championed by

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[27] Day-use refers to visitors' use of a trail and/or facility for one day or less, for example a short trail or a roadside picnic site.

professionals like Rolston Holmes and Paul Taylor:

> We have prima-facie moral obligations that are owed to wild plants and animals themselves as members of the Earth's biotic community. We are morally bound (other things being equal) to protect or promote their good for *their* sakes (italics in original. This obligation is due to those living things due to recognition of their inherent worth. Their well-being is an end in itself (Taylor 1981: 197).

Bureaucrats and Bureaucracy

One thing that residents, scientists and environmentalists have in common is their ambition to influence the bureaucrats who most obviously hold the power to make decisions and create policy. Banff National Park has been subject to over 100 years of bureaucracy. The bureaucratic hierarchy is based on centralized government. The Parks Canada Agency reports to a federally elected Minister (recently shifted from the Department of Canadian Heritage to the Department of Environment). The CEO of the agency acts as advisor to the Minister. The Agency structure is top down with the agents of bureaucracy active at the central, regional and park levels. Ranking continues at the national park level, with senior and middle management and front line staff. With the exception of the Minister, the agents are all civil servants. While some members of the national park bureaucracy are residents of the national park, taking identity from their employment, others are 'at home' from afar where they direct park decision and policy.

In this centralized system of authority, the grander agenda at the national level dictates what advice is useful and what decisions are fed down the bureaucratic line. Accordingly the relationship between the local bureaucrats and their seniors is fraught

with traditional top-down power mechanisms. This is apparent in Banff National Park where decisions are made at the Ministerial level, leaving local managers with the task of delivery and implementation while making it appear, in the face of a conflicting reality, that the rational and best-informed decisions were made. In reacting to an overwhelming sense of disempowerment, including being prevented from taking the initiative over important and controversial matters at the local level, Banff managers blame the regional office for their problems, saying that they haven't got a 'clue' what's really happening at the park level – a stance based on first hand experience in the park and discrepancies between this experience and the decisions they are required to carry out. Regional offices in turn blame the central office in Ottawa for being overstaffed, overpaid and too engaged with red tape to ever get things done. That Ottawa, and in particular the Minister, refuse to accept good advice from the field is a common complaint.

To retain their positions in the face of political agendas that often do not fit with reality, local managers resort to the tactics that have worked in the past, notably the gambit of being sufficiently vague that it is difficult to measure success or failure. To this end, 'expert' advice is relied upon and policy announcements are loosely worded and laced with platitudes. Managers couch their decisions in jargon hence limiting constructive criticism from certain sectors of the public. They are swept up in this by 'experts' who offer their recommendations in this same jargon. In some cases the same experts are used continuously because they have become socialized to Parks Canada process, hence making the whole policy and decision-making process easier. "You end up with bureaucrats talking to experts and the rest of us trying to make the sometimes solely political decisions fit" (personal communication, senior manager).

In Parks Canada, repeated re-organization has undermined local morale within the organization. As reported by Peggy Hedges, an instructor in the Department of Management, University of Calgary, who conducted research on the management practices in Banff National Park:

> The management bodies influence land management through their actions but the strength of those actions is weak compared to the forces that trigger the need for land decisions to be made. Frequent reorganizations of the management structures have weakened the decision making process and training of managers has not kept pace with policy. Clearly the organization's structures and administrative processes for the management bodies have evolved over the past twenty years but the tools ...have not. As a result, external influences that could be anticipated and planned for are excluded along with recognition of any potential benefits these influences could bring. Efforts to facilitate collaborative management have had only limited success due on the most part to constituent authorities using the same antiquated tools and the lack of a meaningful evaluation processes to measure the success of collaborative managements efforts for organisations and individuals (Hedges 2000: 177).

The animosity toward superiors runs to the lowest levels of the organization. In Banff National Park, front line staff, including equipment operators, mechanics and field officers, refer to the parks administration building, where managers have their offices, as the 'Kremlin' or the 'prickery', filled with bureaucrats 'who are just out to get us'. There are clear signs of what Herzfeld, speaking of symbolism and western bureaucracy, would term totalitarianism in the undisguised pressure for social and cultural homogenization from the top (Herzfeld 1992). A staff member who spoke

out in the local weekly newspaper on the arming of wardens was swiftly demoted. Other staff members speak out against parks policy in more subtle ways, through friends who take responsibility for 'letters to the editor'. Memos are sporadically distributed reminding staff of their loyalty obligations to the Parks Canada Agency.

In relation to other parks users the lack of clear purpose in local parks policy makes room for multiple misunderstandings and negative symbolic capital dominates park bureaucratic relationships – bureaucratic pronouncements are locally considered to be self-evidently duplicitous or self-serving. The basis for its decisions often being unclear, Parks Canada is commonly criticized for taking the 'other side' in the conservation versus development debate: the bureaucracy is always treated with suspicion. Lengthy delays caused by bureaucrats' indecision and strung-out bureaucratic processes do little to improve their image. Parks Canada's perceived inability to make a decision is seen as a cost to residents. Parks Canada is often accused of employing stalling tactics as they wait on senior officials to approve local plans, a practice termed "paralysis by analysis" by Boehmer-Christiansen (1994:73). Indeed Parks Canada has the authority to impose moratoriums on development and has done so while waiting for the completion of the BBVS, Outlying Commercial Accommodation Guidelines, and the Town of Banff Community Plan.

In this context, the bureaucracy is fraught with contradictions. Parks Canada rhetoric refers to an open and transparent decision-making process and the importance of community involvement in integrated decision-making. *The Parks Canada Guide: A Participatory Culture* (www.parkscanada.gc.ca/library/index e.htm-manuals) guides staff on the importance of community involvement and how to go about it. Such involvement is identified as "an integral component of management plans", as outlined in the *Guiding Principles and Operational Policy* (1994:18):

> Public involvement is a cornerstone of policy planning and management practise to help assure sound decision-making, build public understanding and provide opportunities for Canadians to contribute their knowledge, expertise and suggestions.

But Charles Warren pinpoints the problem here: "Environmental managers are faced with a stark choice between two problematic pathways: ignore externalities (public involvement) altogether, the second is to endeavour to build them into decision making somehow" (2002:335). The point is that building 'externalities' in is time consuming and expensive. Thus in its initial stages (1997) the ski area planning process, undertaken in conjunction with the ski area operators, seemed well intended and productive. However, co-operation broke down when it was demonstrated that power was clearly in the one corner with Parks Canada officials, who were not negotiating in good faith. There was a sense that the outcome was already known and information was not being shared with partners and consultees. According to a local environmentalist, "If Parks does not answer the questions raised in a public review process then that process is tainted as a policy driven charade." As predicted by Harries-Jones, environmental groups knew that "decision-making processes would revert quickly to a coterie of bureaucrats and science advisers who have always been responsible for government initiatives on the environment" (1993: 54).

Both primary parties engaged in the ski area planning process co-opted the media rather skilfully. All Parks Canada managers are required to take media training; however in this instance a private consultant was contracted to write the lines and assess the public's sentiments on the issue. The ski areas operators hired a former editor of the *Calgary Herald* newspaper to manage their campaign. This eventually became known in local and daily newspapers as 'the battle of the spin doctors'.

Neither side seemed to gain ground as ski area operators were often portrayed as greedy capitalists seeking more and bigger holdings in the park, and Parks Canada was seen as untrustworthy for their use of weak science and questionable transparency throughout the process.

Parks Canada's dilemma in its claim to defer to the public on all matters affecting use and management of the park is summed up by a senior manager, who had the following to offer on Parks Canada's role in public consultation in Banff National Park.

> *In the eye of the people we are talking to there will be an issue raised that is called meaningful consultation. People may come forward and suggest a solution and for whatever reasons you can't implement it and they will say you didn't listen. You may have listened but maybe you couldn't implement it or what they were suggesting wasn't going to work. There is a risk involved if your communication strategy is not on cue with your communication lines and your material is not really good. People could easily jump to a false conclusion and then you get messages out in the media by others accusing you of something you aren't planning to do. So the risk – I think there is more risk of that happening if you are not consulting than if you are. But there is a risk if you are not well prepared and the material is confusing. You can find yourself with a problem because you didn't invest enough into the messages and the material. So that is the risk... and it is expensive...but I think better decisions are made because of it* (from an interview with the Executive Director, Mountain Parks, on the rationale underlying public participation).

More negative symbolic capital surfaces in reaction to the form of the discourse used by politicians. The Minister was soundly criticized in the weekly Banff paper, the *Banff Crag and Canyon* (June 20, 2001), in its editorial entitled "The Masters of Spin", for her "well scripted interview" announcing the long overdue Lake Louise community plan. What stood out were the buzz words, that "Banff is an environmental model for the world over", to quote: "Remember five years ago when Banff was about to be de-listed as a World Heritage Site and now its being hailed as a model environmental community around the world?" The editor makes the point that Banff is certainly not there yet. And who in the world besides the Minister says Banff

is a world model? As pointed out by Havelock, prejudice against rhetoric is not new. "In Plato's dialogue Gorgias Socrates opposes the unethical teachers of oratory who, for a price, teach a student with little knowledge of some subject matter how to sway an audience" (Havelock in Bruner and Oelschaeger 1994: 377). It is generally accepted that rhetoric is an effective tool for swaying opinion but more importantly is has little respect for truth (Bruner and Oelschlaeger 1994:378).

Bureaucratic rhetoric evokes a more positive reaction when scientific discourse is harnessed as the critical weapon of persuasion to garner public support for initiatives. Putting it cynically national park motherhood statements have greater impact when they are linked to science and scientific research. Bureaucracy also evokes traditional discourse heavily laden with the importance of national parks for future generations, that they are the symbols of Canada, and all Canadians own the national parks. Also crisis-driven discourse laden with threats of ecological disasters caused by human use, is coupled with the need for immediate action to reduce deleterious human impacts. In addition, literature is designed to influence visitors' expectations relating to their use of park resources by increasing their understanding of the reasons for restrictions and by making visitors feel they can be a part of the solution and contribute to the sustainability of the park. In the case of Banff National Park, environmental issues are conceptualized in terms of grizzly bears and people, wolves and people and more importantly as an ecosystem in danger. For all these efforts, when bureaucratic discourse incorporates terms like NNNEI (No Net Negative Environmental Impact), ecological integrity, ecosystem management, cub engines (prime bear breeding areas of the park), fuel loads (burnable timber) this excludes the majority of the public audience who are not privy to their meanings. Once again there is a contradiction in that the language used negates the purpose for using it – by

alienating much of the target audience, it fails to attract supporters.

As mentioned in a previous chapter, Banff National Park managers host an annual forum to review progress made on the management plan. Unlike some public consultation events, these forums are well attended and serve as valuable connectors to the residents and stakeholders in the national park. There is an earnest attempt to ensure that all those 'at home' are represented (my term, not theirs). Most recently representatives of the various sectors have been invited to suggest main topics for the forum- rather than simply engaging with those selected by Parks Canada. It is evident that over the years the representatives at the table along with members of the general public are becoming more acquainted with bureaucratic process as it exits in Banff National Park. They are becoming more vocal and confident in their criticisms of the information used to make decisions. Human use has monopolized forum agendas since 2001. The next chapter takes a closer look at the relationships between residents, scientists, environmentalists and bureaucrats interacting in events surrounding the human use strategy and grizzly bears.

CHAPTER 7: HUMAN USE MANAGEMENT STRATEGY AND GRIZZLY BEARS

Introduction

In a national park context, the objective of human use management is to allow people to visit a heritage area without damaging the ecological and cultural integrity or the quality of the heritage area experience. A productive strategy encompasses many aspects of human use - the numbers of visitors, their behaviour, appropriate activities, infrastructure, transportation, heritage area operation, community and resident use, and overnight and day use (Page *et al.,* 1996:50). A strategic plan must match the right people in the right place at the right time with the right behaviour, it must identify the visitor, ecological and management tolerance levels and it must define objectives for visitor opportunities and develop and update management and operational plans (Payne and Nilsen 2002: 493). Designing the strategy involves attaining sufficient information on how areas are currently used to predict future use. One notes that this information is gathered and used in a truly Foucauldian manner. Speaking of state power, Foucault declares that knowledge of the individuals who comprise the population grants the state the particular type of knowledge about its own construction that is needed to reinforce and strengthen its status. Power, knowledge and discipline are thus linked through the effects of an 'examination mechanism' that coerces by means of observation. Knowledge having been acquired about its subjects the state utilizes it to exercise power and discipline that produces subjected and practiced 'docile' bodies (Foucault 1977:138, 1979:205). Concerning Banff National Park corresponding processes occur in this arena where social science constitutes one form of hierarchical observation. Thus human-use managers use surveys, trail counters and census data to inform decisions on appropriate, 'docile'

human activities. Allied to findings from science, these practices of surveillance, elicitation and documentation constrain park users' behaviour by making more known. The knowledge acquired identifies heavily used areas where use is subsequently restricted by closures or quotas. This chapter considers a particular human use strategy in Banff National Park. Foucault's ideas about the excluding power of discourse helps explicate the contestation that the implementation of this strategy provoked.

Parks Canada in a recent review of its research priorities, stated, "the highest priority for social science research is human use management" (Praxis 2000:25). The *Banff National Park Management Plan*, implemented in 1997, was intended as a systematic programme for reconciling human use of park resources against the importance of protecting the park's outstanding scenic and biological features. I shall concentrate on the considerable controversy that this 'human use strategy' provoked, notably relating to the Lake Louise area, and specifically in connection with relations between humans and grizzly bears. Events surrounding such controversy throw into relief the collisions between the various social agents and their respective agendas introduced in the previous section as central to park affairs. The most notable social cleavage in this regard is between park residents and park bureaucrats, the latter in uneasy alliance with scientists (notably conservation biologists) and environmentalists. The two sides here talk past and misunderstand one another. But more subtle cleavages emerge as between bureaucrats, scientists and environmentalists. These respective parties, upholding exclusive knowledge and embedding themselves in distinctive discourse, are in competition to exercise control over park decision making. Parks Canada's first priority to maintain or restore ecological integrity within the park area through the protection of natural resources

and natural processes (Section 8 (2) Canada National Parks Act). Managers in Banff National Park adopted the notion of using a selected species to reflect the changes in ecological integrity. As an 'indicator species' scientific meanings relating to this species symbolically connote broader scientific understandings of the wider ecological system. Based on advice from conservation biologists, the 1997 *Banff National Park Management Plan* proposed the grizzly bear as the relevant species – considered a good choice because its wide territory provides an excellent indicator of habitat connectivity or fragmentation within the park's environment (Parks Canada 1997:14). One notes that the choice of grizzly bear in this regard is not unconnected with another symbolic connotation. In park's parlance the grizzly is an example of 'charismatic mega fauna' – a term used to describe species that are appealing to the public and which can therefore be utilised, often in media campaigns, to garner support for conservation agendas.

Accordingly the park was divided into carnivore management units each with its respective objective relating to maintaining secure habitat for the large carnivores (in particular grizzly bears but in some cases cougars and wolves). Citing human disturbances as the greatest contributor to the loss of effective habitat, the human use strategy emphasised managing park infrastructure to control public access to certain areas of the park (restricting access) and increasing public support for limited access through conveying to the public a better understanding of its purpose (persuasive discourse). Management targets were set relating to human use to ensure the ecosystem continues to support viable populations of carnivores. Techniques for managing human use, such as quotas, relocation of trails, removing trailheads, trials and facilities and relocating campgrounds, were suggested (Parks Canada 1997: 42-45). These particularly referred to the Lake Louise area of the park.

Techniques of Control

According to Parks Canada wildlife researchers a driving force for a human use strategy is the fact that some wildlife corridors that coincidentally follow the same routes as the human traffic corridors. Habitat fragmentation is a central issue due to the presence of a naturally fragmented landscape coupled with high levels of human activity, nodes of development, a rail line and the Trans-Canada highway. This not only constrains wildlife movements but compromises the habitat connectivity needed to ensure a specie's genetic variability and access to resources required for subsistence (Tremblay, 2001). In the Lake Louise area numerous actions to mitigate impacts on wildlife have been and are being considered; this especially refers to grizzly bears. Fencing off the village has been suggested, as this would direct both animal and human traffic to suitable areas and reduce conflicts. The 1997 Plan, in response to concerns over conflicts caused by hikers travelling through the ski area to Skoki Lodge, a popular backcountry lodge, recommends a shuttle bus service to transport hikers through the most critical area. The relocation of the campground in the valley floor and the closure of certain trails are proposed. A programme entitled Moraine Lake Restricted Access was instituted in the summer of 2000. The programme requires hikers to travel in groups of six; a requirement triggered by sightings of grizzly bears. Compliance in the first year was low, and so Parks Canada introduced a mustering station part way along the main trail where individuals were expected to regroup before continuing on their hike. Bear-human conflicts in the area have been reduced but this may be due to a number of factors such as a change in use by bears and reduced numbers of hikers due to the special requirements. A 70 kilometre per hour speed zone is now in place on a 9-kilometre section of the Trans-

Canada Highway adjacent to the village of Lake Louise. This is intended to make it safer for animals to cross the highway in what *may* be a main corridor - statistics on the number of animals, bears in particular, that cross that section of highway are not available. This slower speed zone has acquired the nickname "killer highway" as human highway mortality rates have risen dramatically since it has been in place (*Banff Crag and Canyon*, August 15, 2002). Many drivers ignore the signs and continue at regular speed, causing dangerous driving conditions. My own experience is that to merge with traffic in the zone one must travel at between 100 and 110 km per hour. One might conclude from these examples that not all aspects of the human use strategy are suitable or have been carefully considered in a practical context.

A second prominent feature of human use strategy is managing human use through education and communication. With regard to the *Banff National Park Management Plan,* central to this is the Heritage Tourism program introduced by Industry Canada and Canadian Heritage in the belief that heritage attractions and the tourism industry can achieve greater success by working together. Initially conceived during the 1996 Banff Bow Valley Study, the Heritage Tourism strategy was designed to be consistent with community plans, and the direction in the management plan. Its ethos is "a place for nature...a place for people" (Parks Canada Agency, 2001b). It is intended to be a cooperative effort between the private sector and government. The Heritage Tourism Strategy's purpose is to foster local stewardship and a shared appreciation of natural history and culture. Its other main thrust is to convince travel service providers that in the long term it is in their own best interest to accept that travel must have limits. Literature for all visitors is dispensed at the park entrance gates; however, success depends upon expanding distribution beyond park boundaries and reaching people before they arrive. Disappointments over restrictions to use may

be reduced if pre-trip expectations are in line with what really is available.

Commercial interests in the park are instrumental in displaying information in hotels and at events; employee orientation, training and accreditation programs form the core of the strategy. This system of involving partners in the tourism and service industry is intended to create a 'community' of communicators. Communicating through the service industry with visitors is intended to raise the level of awareness and understanding of the challenges and opportunities in Banff National Park, not just for the visitor but also for the large number of seasonal service staff working in the park, and their friends. Visitors are encouraged to attend educational presentations at outdoor theatres in campgrounds and at visitor centres. Free interpretive services are offered. The most popular in the Lake Louise area are the guided hikes at Moraine Lake. However, whether or not these various management activities deliver the intended results may be difficult to measure.

Primarily, this part of the Banff human use strategy works at making visitors aware they are in a national park and a World Heritage Site. Termed education of visitors and residents in 'soft practices', it aims to subtly shape the way people relate to and use the resources around them to that people experience a particular sense of place. Ideally it influences visitor expectations and use of the park resources by creating an understanding of the reasons for restrictions and making visitors feel they can be a part of the solution and contribute to the sustainability of the park. It exemplifies Foucault's notion of normalizing judgement which attends to what is acceptable and necessary in achieving relevant goals, who is acting in a socially acceptable manner and who is not. Foucault's theory replicates the connection between epistemic analyses (such as the analysis of human use data) and political regulations (such as quotas and trail closures), as a construction of social norms. Thus

Canadian society comes to perceive national parks legislation positively, and its regulations as enshrining the altruistic benefits of conservation and society's responsibilities towards future generations. Normalizing judgement also permits punishment for non-conformity and penance for bad behaviour, (such as fines for entering closed areas) complemented by award and privileges for good conduct and practices (such as the annual Heritage Tourism awards). These are internal mechanisms for power. The remainder of the chapter deals with the dissent voiced by certain Banff National Park users, notably local residents, regarding specific proposals in the 1997 *Banff National Park Management Plan* and other human use strategy development since this time. Foucault's notion of normalising judgement and the idea of docile and compliant bodies clearly does not account for all reactions to park plans and procedures. The question arises as to how this dissent should be interpreted. The next three sections (i) describe this dissent, (ii) elucidate it in terms of competing discourses, and (iii) illustrate both these matters with regard to a particular consultation forum. In a concluding section, discussion of Foucault's ideas, notably those to do with the excluding power of discourse, suggest that the meaning of such dissent is ambiguous.

Dissent

As noted, strategies affecting human use management in Banff National Park are built upon a framework for the conservation of grizzly bears, portrayed as subjects of human-caused impacts.

> There has been a significant decrease in the ability of the landscape in Banff National Park to support grizzly bears. Fragmentation and loss of connectivity has led to a loss of landscape needed to support wary/wild behaviour. This

> leads to increased conflict with humans, higher mortality and potentially reduced reproductive output. The Human Use Strategy is important for managing human activity to enhance the conservation of the grizzly bear (Parks Canada 2003: 2-3).

Rather than developing a reasoned approach to science and research that incorporates evidence for various perspectives over time, managers, politically under pressure to be seen to be acting, are forced to adopt a crises-driven approach that resists an inclusive, collaborative approach to decision-making. The human use management strategy is built upon data provided by conservation biologists operating within this crisis driven model. The following was announced by the national park grizzly bear specialist, and conservation biologist, at a public meeting in Banff:

> *This year, we have an additional 10 bears collared with GPS* (Global Positioning System) *collars. A 'sow and cub' index illustrating the number of cubs that are seen with sows is dropping year over year. A study that compared the local grizzly population with other populations showed that the population is not doing well by comparison. The reproductive rate is the lowest recorded in North America.*

As mentioned, the Lake Louise area has become a focus for the human use strategy. Lake Louise is an important international symbol of Canada. The view of Lake Louise with Victoria glacier in the background and the poppy gardens in the foreground is world famous. On November 10, 2002, BBC television aired a program ranking the most popular places to visit on the planet; Lake Louise was listed as number eleven. The area surrounding Lake Louise is unique not only for its breathtaking scenery and fame but also because it sustains both a high level of human use and one of the densest grizzly bear populations in North America. Two major wildlife corridors are located in the area along with four pods of development, a section of the Trans Canada highway, secondary roads, and a rail line (Parks Canada Agency 2001a: 1) (map 4). While some may see this as a success story for co-

habitation, others fear that human use is encroaching on wildlife territory and therefore must be more carefully managed. Visitor numbers are highest in the summer, when the grizzly bear population is active. For example, over the summer, 80,000 people visit the Lake Louise ski area where as many as fourteen sows, cubs and sub-adult bears forage on the cleared ski runs. But conservation biologists warn that this is problematic for grizzly bears because the high quality of habitat in this location decreases in effectiveness and security due to the high levels of human use (Tremblay 2001:ix). While current levels are considered manageable, aggressive marketing on the part of the operator has lead Parks Canada to believe that up to 200,000 summer tourists may soon be visiting the area. Mitigating actions currently in place are not considered fully satisfactory. But residents sense that human habitation has instead created secure habitat for the females and sub adults as this is an area that males are avoiding due to the human use.

The humans use strategy saw a permanent summer bear exclusion fence erected by June 23, 1998. Random human use between Whitehorn Lodge and the base facilities was discouraged by way of signage and direct communication. There were also restricted hours at the lodge from 6:00 to 19:00. The Friendly Giant lift was restricted to the same hours. There was also an effort to improve communication and interpretation on the hill. One issue concerned summer use at the Lake Louise ski area. The decision to close the area to public use during the summer was supposedly based on comprehensive public consultation; however, the decision was announced the day after the only public meeting on the subject. A summary of the comments from this meeting was presented but it was clear that Parks Canada's decision had already been reached much earlier in the process. This decision relating to the impacts of human-bear confrontation in the area was reversed when it became

apparent that information from Parks Canada's contracted experts did not align with the documented realities. Parks Canada moulded this into a positive picture by complimenting themselves on having listened to the local people and acting accordingly. In truth, there simply was not enough proof of serious human bear encounters to warrant closing the area.

In the park as a whole targets in the management plan are set for each carnivore management unit. Current habitat effectiveness values range from the Banff townsite at 48.6% to the Howse wilderness area at 95.8%. The target habitat effectiveness ranges from more than 60% for the Banff townsite to above 80 to 90% throughout the rest of the park (Parks Canada 1997:44). I presented these numbers to biologists at the University of St. Andrews, who were immediately suspicious of the lack of supporting data to justify the targets. However, the success of the management plan continues to be measured against these targets.

> Increasing human use threatens the long-term viability of the grizzly populations, which is at best stable and possibly declining. The park is not meeting its management plan targets of less than one percent human-caused mortality of grizzly bears, therefore more aggressive action must be taken (Parks Canada Agency 2001:6)

Residents question the logic of the less than 1% mortality target as, with only 60 to 80 bears in the park, just one death exceeds the 1%. Doubt is also cast on the supposed 90% human-caused mortality rate or the suggestion that since eleven of the twenty-six bears studied over a six year period died, then 42% of the parks total population died over the same period. [28] They question the park's priorities: is Banff National Park a

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[28] See letters to the editor, *Banff Crag and Canyon*, July 4, 2001. Also see independent studies by the Fraser Institute (2000) and Doug Leighton (2000).

de facto grizzly bear habitat and does human use automatically compromise that habitat? One Lake Louise resident felt compelled to express his views on grizzly bear research and the subsequent management actions via the local editorial:

> *I am getting fed up with the studies whose conclusions are already determined before they even start. If these studies were done with a little more objectivity then we might have a little more respect for their conclusions.*

Residents suggest that common sense should prevail; the number of visual sightings of bears in Lake Louise has increased significantly in the past four years. They complain that grizzly bear research is not peer reviewed, especially when the data is used to predict the extinction of the grizzly bear in the park.

Discourse of Nature

Contestation among the main actors relating to the Human Use Strategy is well exemplified in the principle discourses about nature within which they situate themselves. These discourses reflect discrepant understandings of the meanings and priorities of the park environment. In the main, park bureaucrats, along with conservation biologists and environmentalists, emphasise nature as wilderness, as vulnerable and as subject to science. Meanwhile local residents emphasise nature as utility and, in particular, as a lived experience.

As we have seen, the management view of grizzly bears is mainly informed by the work of conservation biologists. Conservation biologists refer to Banff National Park as 'an island of extinction'. Also known as an inbreeding depression, this refers to the "small isolated populations of animals vulnerable to natural catastrophe, genetic inbreeding and other phenomena that accelerate local extinction" (Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society, 2002). The rhetoric of extinction is used to hasten management decisions; however, there is widespread speculation about the true

state of the grizzly populations. The head carnivore researcher admits the study area is not a closed population (Gibeau 2000: 27) and has a significant degree of genetic exchange (Gibeau 2000: 46). After attending a public forum at which scientists offered their latest findings, a long-time resident and backcountry business owner with many years of experience living with wildlife commented:

> *No clear answers are given why bears have a low birth rate, no mention that bears are under weight or not healthy. Perhaps we have too many bears for the amount of food available. They* (conservation biologists) *are dramatic but not giving full disclosure. He* (conservations biologist) *says they* (bears) *are threatened, I'm not sure they are.*

As to the residents, they pride themselves on being stewards of the park. Talking about the park in terms of 'an island of extinction' conjures up an imminent catastrophe that is little understood. It does not bode well with residents and other members of the public who are proud of their national park and fear it is getting a bad reputation. With respect to the Moraine Lake hiking restrictions, residents and frequent park users resist complying; no clear explanation was given for the specified group size and since the area is one of the most popular in the park, hundreds of people, not just six, were on the trail at any one time. A resident explained this action:

> *Disobedience puts us in an uncomfortable position. We're the people who have been absolutely committed to upholding the National Parks Act and making this a special wildlife friendly place and it puts us doing things that we would never consider doing if the rules made sense.*

Residents are sceptical about conservation biologists' methodology. Animals are trapped, collared and tracked with telemetry in order to collect data on migration patterns and habitat use. This methodology is often criticized within the scientific community for its small sample size and the unknown effects that human handling has on the animals' habits. In the spring of 2002, two trapped bears were killed by a third roaming bear while waiting for researchers to check the traps. That event and the

constant handling of the animals through research provoked residents to challenge the fundamental basis for imposing restrictions and reducing human disturbance. As one resident put it:

> *They keep telling us that one human disturbance has such a negative effect on habitat security. Then what about all this research? We need to protect the wildlife from the researchers.*

A conservation biologist who presented a picture of impending disaster in this instance the species in question was moose was challenged on his methodology during a public management plan forum. The resident posing the question was particularly interested in the number of animals the biologist had studied since he knew, from his own experience, that the moose is a very shy animal and difficult to track. The conservation biologist replied that, "The way we collect data is scientific and you would not understand it. It would not make much sense for me to waste your time and mine trying to explain it to you." This forthright response demonstrated an underlying premise upon which conservations biologists rate their capabilities compared to others.

Residents consider themselves experts at living with wildlife. They see human-animal co-habitation as long-term and do not see why it is now considered to be in a crisis. For them, in short, the balance is as a lived practice. A Banff senior resident offered his view:

> *Parks hangs their hat on the study of the day, they forget that natural systems have life cycles and there are resolutions over time.*

Residents also question whether using the grizzly bear as the indicator species, in particular since it hibernates for half the year, indexes impacts on species with other habitats - fish and birds, for example. In sum, they feel that 'local knowledge', gained through experience and over time, is dismissed bay a scientific elite who exercise exclusive rights to knowledge.

> *They* (scientists) *maintain control over the information. There is a lack of understanding of local knowledge. Because it can't be qualified scientifically, local knowledge is a threat.*

Also, scientists outside Parks Canada question the validity of the data being used by managers to make decisions. They express regret that their expertise is dismissed, that only certain scientists are granted access to the national park as a research site. As a result only those few on the inside (Parks Canada staff and contractors) are granted the power to influence management's decisions. Lack of open-minded collaboration incites criticism and conflict. As Tim Clark states, "Much of the conflict surrounding grizzly bear conservation arises from various conventional professionals and other participants drawing on different standards, basic beliefs and other variables from their perspectives" (Clark 2001:49). Because bias prevents each person from seeing the total picture, they only have a partial understating of the total issue. "Biologists believe that better information will automatically improve the decision-making process. Values of key participants are overlooked because the policy/decision-making process is not given due attention. At best there is an anecdotal understanding of the process, this leads to unproductive conflict and power struggles" (Clark 2001: 50).

The separate rhetoric about nature of both scientists and environmentalists at times diverge (in their different ways) from the conservations biologists' and managers'. In a report entitled *Science Fiction or Science Fact? The Grizzly Biology behind Parks Canada Management Models* (2002) The Fraser Institute soundly criticises the Parks Canada approach to research and their use of the research findings. In particular they criticize "the embrace(ment) of the new crises discipline of conservation biology" (2002:1). For his part, Tim Clark (2001) warns that conservation biologists need to be more aware of their own myths.

Many members of the grizzly bear research community believe that more and better research is the key to securing effective conservation. This myth about the power of science and knowledge is pursued without sufficient acknowledgement that, irrespective of the nature and validity of research findings, political circumstances will often be the determining factor in decision-making (Clark 2001:48).

Environmental groups have mixed reactions to the strategy. While they clearly envisage the benefits of having fewer people impact the environment, they are distracted by the pending construction of the Chateau Lake Louise conference centre on the lakeshore. Parks Canada's approval for this development runs contrary to the perceived purpose of the Human Use Strategy to effectively reduce the human foot print and restore habitat effectiveness. This has undermined trust between environmental groups and Parks Canada. During the summer of 2002, the Environmental Investigation Agency (EIA) a London and Washington based ENGO, joined local and national ENGOs to challenge the Minister of Canadian Heritage's approval for the construction of the seven-storey conference centre on the lakeshore. At a public rally held in a church basement on Banff Avenue in August 2002, local groups proudly introduced the President of the EIA. The environmentalists involvement of the international organization speaks directly to the perceived importance of having that level of support, and hence credibility, on board. The speaker made much of his international experience and recounted stories of his activities on the Rainbow Warrior. He spoke on the importance of halting construction of the Chateau conference centre, comparing the local grizzly situation to that of the white rhino, saying that extinction is inevitable if wildlife preservation is not given a higher priority than commercial gains. Literature and pamphlets were

distributed and photos of billboards alongside major US highways were shown. Employing shock value, a photo of a dead grizzly sprawled across a section of the highway graced the cover of the handouts. This was slightly less offensive than a poster previously distributed that showed a decapitated head beside the railway tracks – a photo which, incidentally, was 'posed'.

The crux of environmentalism is that influencing public opinion and environmental policy is very much about the skilful use of symbolic capital, including both experiential and scientific knowledge. Leverage in the form of scientific knowledge was employed through an 'endorsement' from a local veterinarian who presented 'statistics' on the local grizzly population that painted a dire picture, such that future survival largely depended on this development being squashed. The veterinarian used sparse and unsubstantiated data to paint a dramatic picture of what she described as a soon-to-be-extinct species – a stance supported with evidence that rested on inflated percentages calculated on the lowest estimated population and the highest estimated mortality. Much attention was placed on survival of the females of the species, termed 'reproductive engines'. The audience of summer staff and members of local ENGOs seemed moved by the presentation. Most said they were initially interested in hearing the former Rainbow Warrior activist speak, but quickly added that the plight of bears in the Bow Valley was serious and more effort was needed on everyone's part to secure their future. Several local environmentalist organizations were listed on the handouts as being solidly behind this campaign. To the uniformed eye this would then appear to be an important consensus; however, the members in one group are also members in the other groups; this was also the public debut of the Bow Valley Grizzly Bear Alliance.

To entice the public to attend the rally, a very large stuffed bear was

positioned on the street near the entrance to the meeting hall. Members of local environmentalist groups handed out pamphlets and encouraged passers-by to take a few minutes to save a grizzly. A few graciously accepted leaflets made it into tourist's handbags and backpacks. It was interesting to note that most of the traffic consisted of tourists, locals switched to the other side of the street to avoid the confrontation. Unfortunately for the organisers most people were more interested in having their picture taken with the oversized stuffed carnivore. As I entered the meeting hall, a mother was patiently positioning her young boys in a pose with the bear – shaking its hand then giving it a hug. With an agenda of reduce human contact, this was not quite the image the environmentalists were trying to achieve.

There was little doubt in my mind that the leaders of the rally were trying to appeal to the sentimental side of tourists and locals by creating a picture of the grizzly bear as an endangered species that would surely be eliminated through human action (or inaction, depending upon your view) should the Minister's decision stand to proceed with construction of the conference centre. While their primary focus was on the grizzly bear, capitalizing on and adding to the symbolic capital from it being the indicator species, reference was also made, when deemed appropriate ammunition for the cause, to broader aspects of ecological integrity, the park management plan and the human use strategy. To date, the campaign continues with pictures of grizzlies on billboards in the western United States, press coverage in daily newspapers, appeals to the IUCN and protests outside Canadian Pacific shareholders meetings.

The Forum: Dissent and Discourses

Residents' dissent and discrepant discourse of nature as between residents and

managers are replayed especially clearly during the annual two-day forums that, on their own initiative, Banff National Park managers annually host to provide an opportunity for eighteen roundtable sector representatives to discuss and identify areas of interest related to the implementation of the 1997 *Banff National Park Management Plan.* Although the roundtable is the primary mechanism for public participation, the two-day forum provides the public with an opportunity to learn how well the objectives of the management plan are being met and to review other projects and proposals. I was present at the 2001 forum and assisted with the preparation of an official summary for Parks Canada. The draft human use strategy presented at the 2001 forum emphasized two techniques for managing human use: controlling access through infrastructure and increasing visitors' support for limited access based upon a better understanding of its purpose. A key concept includes examining different ways to transport people rather than automobiles and a reassessment of the trail networks near both the Banff and Lake Louise communities. Statistics show that only a very small percentage of visitors venture more than three kilometres from the highway. Therefore, emphasis is being placed on the twenty to forty minute visitor experience, the strolls and short hikes originating from parking lots. Due to Parks Canada's concerns about current traffic congestion and the potential increase in visitor numbers, the human use strategy proposes limiting access. Principally, access would be by public transportation, either a bus or tram. Private vehicles would park in a staging area on the valley floor. Other access could also be gained via the 'long walk in'. In the summer of 2001 a bus service to Upper Lake Louise was introduced as a pilot project. Since its initiation the service has been improved with extra buses, more stops, and increased hours; however, the logistics of fully implementing this operation have not been worked out. Stage I restricts oversized vehicles from travelling to

Upper Lake Louise or Moraine Lake by no longer providing suitable spaces in the parking lots for motor-homes and campers. Access by other private vehicles would be controlled by parking attendants at the base of the road who would advise travellers when the parking lots were full. Stage II limits independent travel to all but hotel guests, with other visitors parking in a bus-staging area in the valley floor. However, finding a suitable location for a staging area is difficult as space on the valley floor is limited by natural and built barriers and by areas identified as wildlife corridors. As well, the number of buses needed to transport up to 19,000 passengers per day, if use was kept at current levels, presents certain challenges, especially during peak hours (Equus, 2001:18).

When the part of the human use strategy focusing on the Lake Louise area of the park was presented I noticed an increased participation of residents and stakeholders, with vigorous criticism of the role of science in decision-making and the validity of data being used to support decisions.

Thus with regard to gauging the viability of the Human Use Strategy, the reactions from the sector representatives are important. Possessing genuine interests in the national park and its visitors, they served as a well-informed, critical audience. The following summarizes their comments and concerns.

- It was generally agreed that the visitor transportation issue was a good and timely topic for discussion.
- While Parks Canada is tasked with delivering on goals set out by the Banff Bow Valley Study, the management plan and the Panel on Ecological Integrity, commercial operators are concerned that decisions that could restrict the number of visitors will impact their businesses.
- There is need to define the purpose of the Human Use Strategy. Is it to limit use

or limit impacts? A change in use could lower impacts without reducing numbers.

- Alternatives and innovative ideas are missing; there seems to be only one solution - setting a limit on the maximum number of visitors (capping) or reducing visitor numbers. Controlling access to Upper Lake Louise through traffic controls is seen as an example of 'capping' use.
- The balance of the strategy was questioned. There is too much emphasis on ecological integrity and very little about people.
- Risk assessment was challenged, in particular the dependability of the science and the accuracy of the predications. The park is still being managed according to direction in the 1996 Bow Valley study report; current and correct data needs to be introduced to the planning process. The Banff Bow Valley Study trends are not being realized; numbers are not increasing at the rate predicted. Restrictions on tenting in the Lake Louise campgrounds, prompted by bear activity the previous year, was cited as evidence that reductions are habitually imposed without consulting new information. Another example mentioned was the Moraine Lake Restricted Access program.
- The strategy does not address displacement issues. If visitors are restricted from visiting one particular site, which other site will they be attracted to instead? And, is this in the best interests of areas currently managed for low-level use?
- Representatives criticized the bureaucratic rhetoric in the strategy and requested clearer, more concise presentations of the problems and solutions.

Residents and local business owners acknowledge that, under present traffic conditions, the visitor experience in the area is compromised and there is a need for a better transportation system. There are grave suspicions, however, concerning the

manner with which Parks Canada is addressing the problem. While much is made of bear-human encounters and the lack of security for wildlife, residents feel that only some of the available information is being used to make decisions. Living year round in the area, residents are more aware of the day-to-day wildlife movements and long-time residents are able to discuss trends. An increase in the number of wildlife, bears in particular (again, one recalls its use by Parks Canada as the indicator species), intimate successful co-habitation.

> *Parks seems to see grizzly as a keystone for the health of the national park, everything they do revolves around the grizzly bear. We want to make sure national treasures are accessible. Parks seems to want to limit access with trail closures and managing current use* (Banff resident).

> *A park is somewhere that the people of the nation can experience the backcountry, the wildlife, the accident of nature that put us here and people are a part of the park. I think the idea that you have to erase all people to have a viable park is just not so* (Lake Louise resident).

There are concerns that improperly managed restrictions to the Upper Lake and increased congestion in the village will seriously affect visitors' opinions of the park and this will, eventually, tarnish Banff's reputation. Limiting Upper Lake Louise independent travel to hotel guests may result in these areas reverting to the exclusive destinations of the wealthy international tourist. Average Canadians would no longer be able to afford a stroll along the lakeshore or a hike at Moraine. Other modes of transportation from the valley floor to the upper lake are being suggested, one popular with residents being the resurrection of the tramline, which fits with the heritage character of the area and may be the least detrimental to the environment.

Management decisions relating to the campground adjacent to the village are also questioned. Young people travelling with tents, obviously on limited budgets, are no longer able to camp overnight in Lake Louise. Once again, there is the sense that access for travellers from lower economic brackets, mostly young Canadians, is

not important. The decision to limit camping to hard-sided units is based on previous years' bear-human incidents. To residents and travellers, fencing the campground seems an obvious solution. Fences are effective in the ski area; however, the costs of installing the fences at the ski area were born by the operator not Parks Canada. Fencing the campground would indeed be a Parks Canada expense and there is a suspicion that while residents and businesses are expected to implement prescribed mitigations immediately, Parks Canada is not. Fencing the village and campground is instead to be incorporated as part of a larger project to twin (dual carriageway) the Trans Canada Highway through Lake Louise.

A 25 year resident of Lake Louise who started her career in business working for CP Hotel at an alpine teahouse, and later became an active member of the LLAB expressed serious concerns over Parks Canada's approach to human use in Lake Louise:

> *We are not doing so good a job with Canadians because here is more emphasis on international visitors. Some think they are fenced out of the park but we see it as protecting the wildlife (the Trans Canada fencing). The international emphasis has to do with congestion; they see Lake Louise as congested. It is out-priced for Canadians; the new developments are at the high-end hotels and not for the hostelling youth. There is no expansion at the campgrounds, therefore we are not looking after Canadian youth. Should everyone bring a trailer? What about tenting in the campground? So does this mean that Lake Louise is only accessible to the wealthy? It should be accessible to all income brackets. There is a conscious effort to make it exclusive*

Other participants were equally as explicit in their comments:

> *There are three key areas that we* (the Lake Louise Businesses) *are concerned with: 1) We are opposed to caps. We must maintain investments that we have. Industry trends must be considered. 2) We want integrated management decision-making, not death by a thousand paper cuts. Meetings with advisory groups seem to deal only with how a tactic will be implemented not what other options could be considered. Public involvement can be improved. 3) There is a science gap. We challenge the human use numbers; the only data is the 'patterns of human use' study, which is not yet released. Is use actually increasing in Lake Louise year after year? We do not think so.*

Another challenge was raised with respect to the knowledge and process used to design the strategy:

> *The (human use strategy) plan makes commitments to increase public understanding and buy-in, to demonstrate the involvement of the scientific community. It specifically describes the 'value of open participation in decision making' and the need to make decision-making 'open and transparent.' However, this year Doug Leighton's* (local nature photographer) *report received no response from Parks Canada. I raised this, but I was told that no response would be made because 'the author is not a scientist.' This is arrogant. To their credit, local management did eventually respond. We (the Association for Mountain Parks Protection and Enjoyment) question the gap between us and those people in 'the offices'. We have been told that our input is not deserving.*

And on the contribution made by businesses that is often overlooked:

> *Banff is also for community, heritage and environment. We (the Hotel and Motel Association) are often perceived as a money-hungry capitalist group, but all of our members are expected to achieve a '3 green leaf' rating. For example, we recycle all room supplies including soaps. Our members actively support many community events.*

Conclusions

Very simply, the social sectors in Banff National Park, described in this Part of the thesis, are concerned for their own interests. Issues become emotive due in part to the fact that on many sides, there is a sense of disempowerment and a fear that the local, scientific or environmental voice will not be heard by the bureaucrats. Local bureaucrats fear that their input will be ignored higher up where the controversial and important decisions are made. Residents want freedom of access to all areas; use should be self-regulated based on experience. The Human Use Strategy should not impact businesses and there should be provisions for the local economy to move ahead in 'tough times'. Residents do not want to be singled out as the ones who pay for a strategy that is targeted at another audience (urban voters in Eastern Canada). They distrust the Human Use model based on previous experience, the lack of local

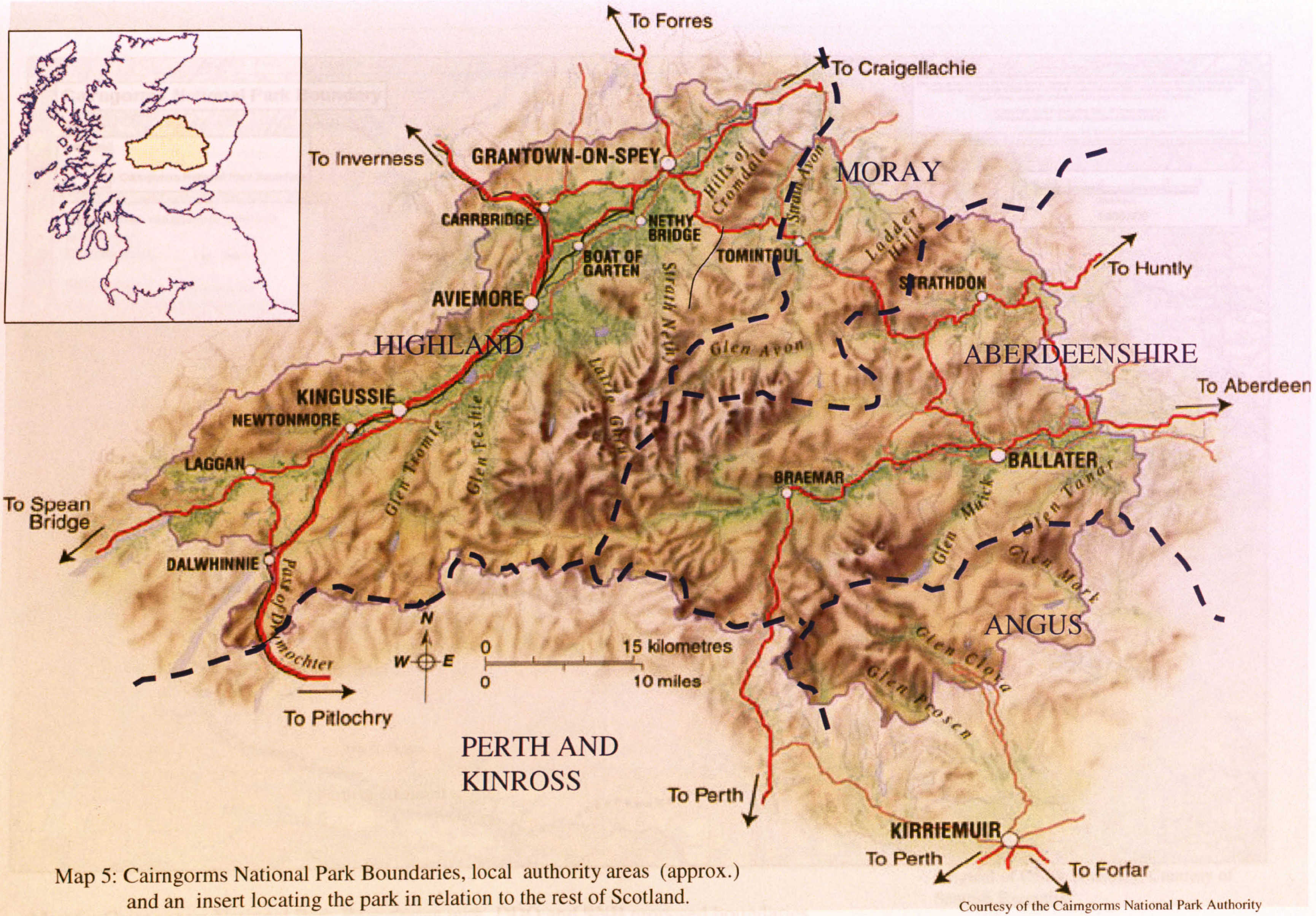
knowledge incorporated into the decision-making process and the 'blind' reliance on science and grizzly bears to guide management plan actions. They question the ability of bureaucrats to change directions when mistakes are made. Scientists want data used in what they consider a more effective and professional manner. They want to continue their studies with less bureaucratic interference, less doubting of their capabilities and data and acceptance that their data is the truth. They consider their knowledge is truth that should be accorded more power. Environmentalists, upholding a discourse of crisis to initiate immediate management actions, believe they are acting on behalf everyone's best interests. Their knowledge is blatantly selected, blended and presented to influence decisions in their favour. They have an overwhelming desire to 'win'. Bureaucrats want to be seen to be doing a good job so as to retain their status as the decision makers. Their claim relies upon the knowledge of least resistance (science), assuming this will prompt fewer challenges from the public and grant validity to their decisions. They are faced with the difficulty of adopting a new priority (ecological integrity) that is not measurable. It seems they can change course when necessary (i.e. reversing the decision on summer use at the ski hill). They have been accused of not acting on the Human Use Strategy in a expeditious manner, which may indicate some trepidation on their part. From this chapter the question arises as to the significance the anthropologist should read into the dissent from park management decisions expressed by other interested parties, notably park residents. Is such dissent a reflection of the residents' disempowerment or a reflection of their incipient power? Foucault's teaching suggests that management/science discourse has an exclusionary effect relating to parties not versed in such discourse, inviting the conclusion that dissent reflects residents' enfeeblement and frustration (Foucault 1970: 10-11). Indeed this chapter

has shown that residents in their statements clearly express a sense of disempowerment, anchored in discourse quite different from the bureaucrats' and the scientists', maintaining that their voice goes unheard. And a conservationist is heard denigrating residents for their lack of understanding of what he considers all-important – science. On the other hand, as was noted in the Introduction to the thesis, Foucault's theorising allows little space for the consummation of power by non-state/non-bureaucrat agents. Residents' agency, reflected in their vociferous objection to management policy, may arguably be understood as residents' claiming a political space for themselves regarding park decision making. At the moment management largely pays lip service paid to resident consultation; in the future it may be obliged to grant residents real power.

Some of these issues are returned to in the Conclusion of this thesis. In the next Part we see that many of them are replayed in the case of the Cairngorms National Park.

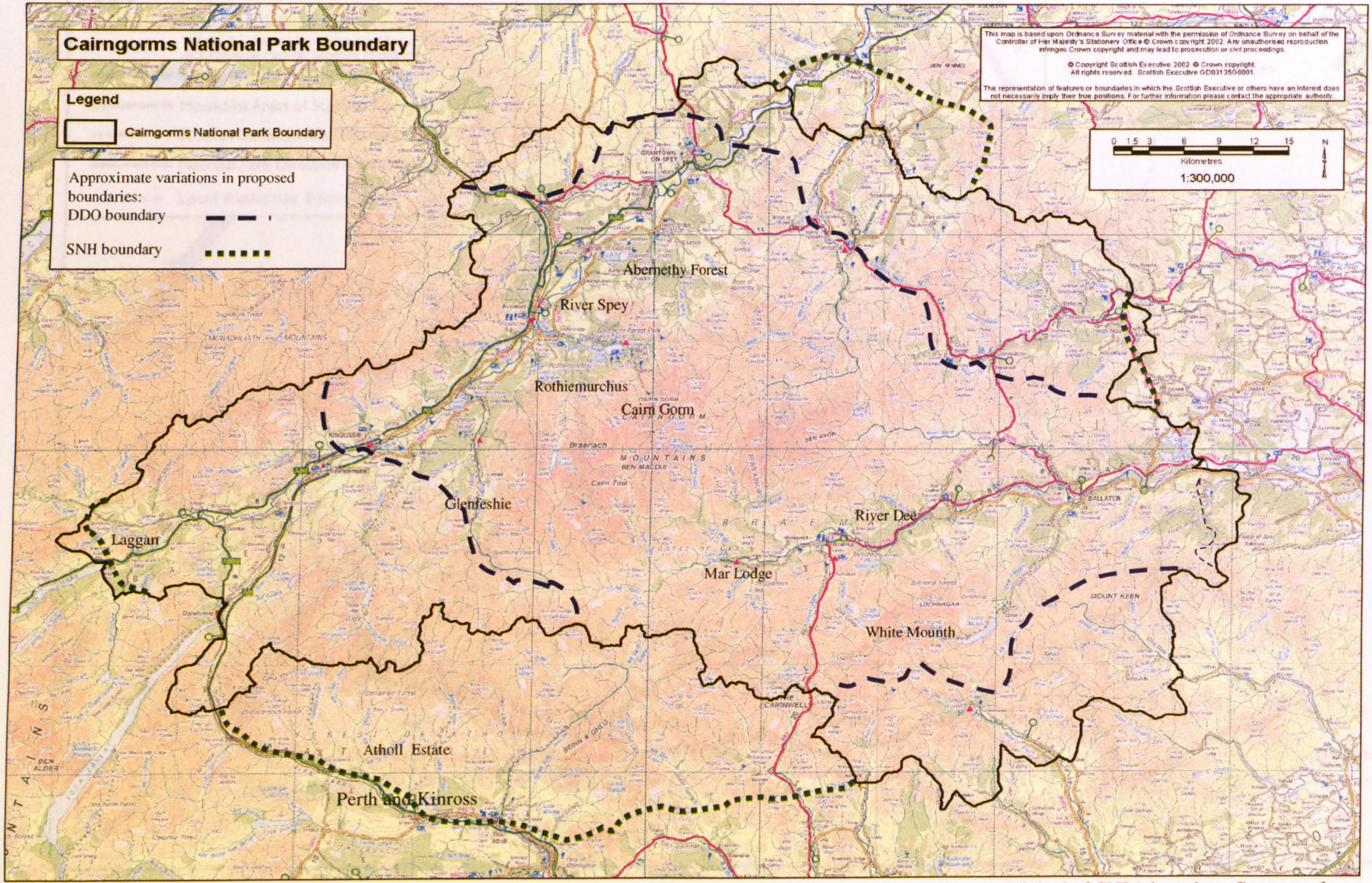
PART 3

CAIRNGORMS NATIONAL PARK



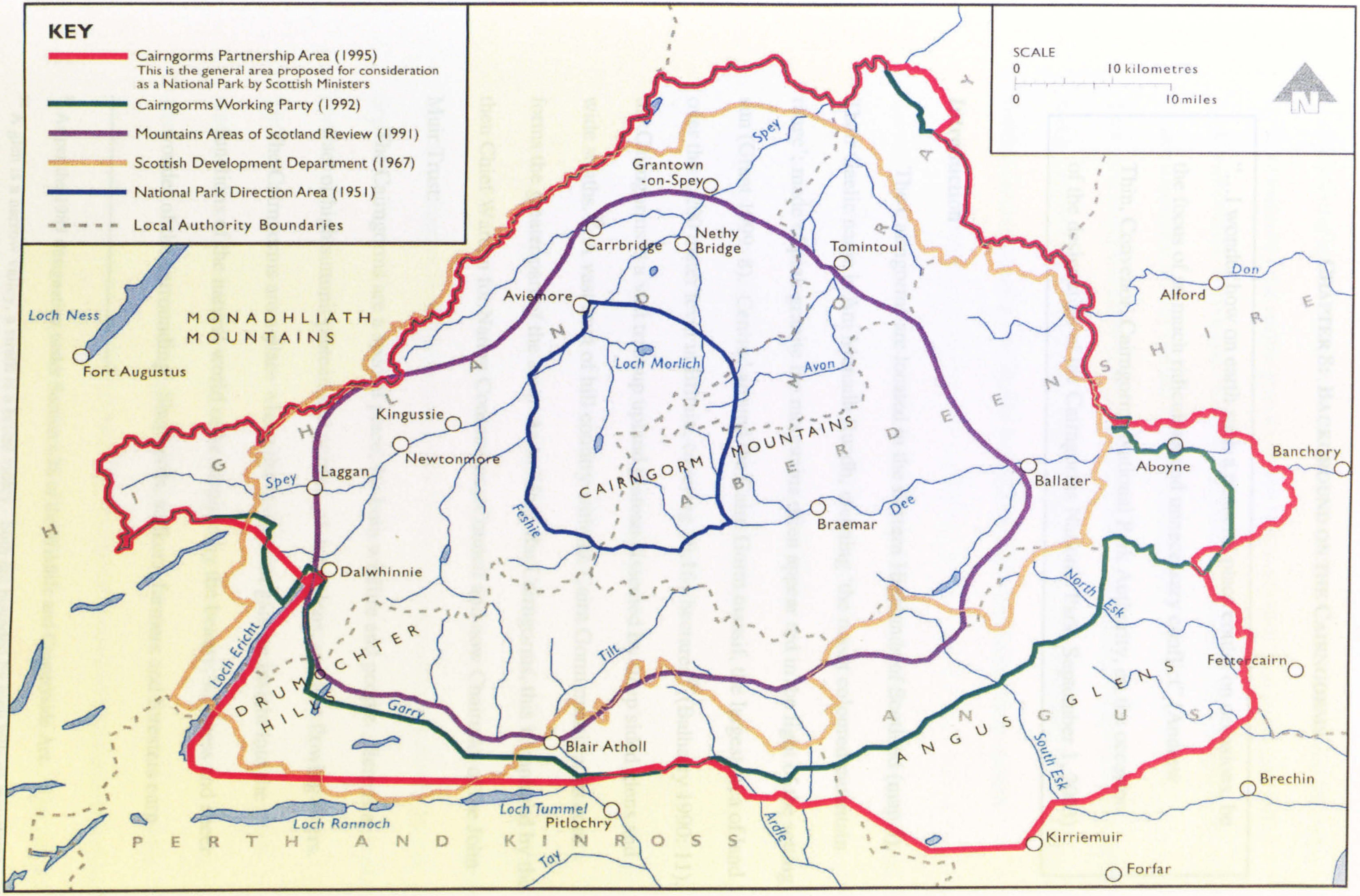
Map 5: Cairngorms National Park Boundaries, local authority areas (approx.) and an insert locating the park in relation to the rest of Scotland.

Courtesy of the Cairngorms National Park Authority



Original of CNPA boundary Courtesy of Scottish Executive .

Map 6: Cairngorms National Park Boundaries with DDO and SNH proposed boundaries



Map 7: Various boundaries used to define the Cairngorms area over the years. A starting point for the 2000-2001 public consultation on future park boundaries.

CHAPTER 8: BACKGROUND ON THE CAIRNGORMS

> "...I wonder how on earth such a peaceful place could, on occasions, be the focus of so much ridiculous and unnecessary conflict" (Andrew Thin, Convenor, Cairngorms National Park Authority, on the occasion of the designation of the Cairngorms National Park, September 1, 2003)

Introduction

The Cairngorms are located in the Eastern Highlands of Scotland (map 5). Their Gaelic name is Am Monadh Ruadh, meaning 'the russet coloured mountain range'; made of pink granite the mountains often appear red in the light of the setting sun (Grant 1999: 8). Centred around the Cairn Gorm massif, the largest area of land over the 1,200 meter level in Britain, covering 29,161 hectares[29] (Balharry 1990: 11), the Cairngorms is a vast tract up upland plateau dissected by steep sided glens and wide straths.[30] A vast tract of hill country with the Cairn Gorm massif at its core forms the greater part of the area. As to life in the Cairngorms, this is captured by the then Chief Warden for Nature Conservancy Council and now Chairman of the John Muir Trust:

> The Cairngorms are a special place, for both wildlife and people. Here is a tract of high summit plateau and corries, of deep glens, and fast flowing rivers. The Cairngorms are a place where the visitor can gain an insight into the functions of the natural world or be inspired by the beauty, wildness and sheer wonder of the surrounding. Shepherds, stalkers, farmers and foresters earn

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[29] As per the 1987 designation under Section s.28 of the Wildlife and Countryside Act.

[30] A glen is a narrow valley, a strath is a broad valley - both are bounded by high hills or mountains.

> their living by managing the renewable natural resources. The tourist industry is sustained by the scenic grandeur with which the area is so well endowed. Communities survive and thrive in the scattered townships and villages. All are dependent on one another (Balharry 1990: 11)

This view is not shared by others who see it as a devastated landscape (Darling 1955) and in danger of becoming even more marginal due to de-population (Hunter 1995), lack of suitable housing and finally through an unfair land ownership system (Wightman 1996).

This part of the thesis includes a description of the formation and emergence of a National Park, taking in ethnographic material from all relevant social levels, from local communities to parliamentary debate. It also considers a national park whose purpose, on top of nature protection and the enjoyment of the park's natural resources, is attuned relatively less to notions of wilderness and relatively more to matters of local (indigenous) social and economic consideration. As with Banff National Park the relevant social agents in the Cairngorms are a local, permanently resident population, scientists, conservationists (equivalent to Banff's 'environmentalists') and bureaucrats. But what is different from Banff is that all these agents were active in the Cairngorms well before the designation of the Park in September 2003. The designation of the park produced, so to say, a further layer of complication with which these agents had to contend. The park's proposal and subsequent existence, we shall see, accentuated the contestation that has occurred amongst these agents over many decades regarding policy and management for the area. More than this, the Cairngorms circumstance, because we are witnessing the process of designation, reveals particularly starkly the motivations and role of national government (in this case the devolved Scottish Executive) in park affairs. For all this

the Cairngorms ethnography clearly replicates issues of power, knowledge and discourse, discussed in relation to the Banff material. These matters need not be repeated in the chapters on the Cairngorms which instead concentrate on the factual elucidation of a complex situation. Questions of power and discourse relating to the Cairngorms will instead be left to the conclusion of the thesis. The remainder of the present Chapter provides an overview of the Cairngorms. The following chapter, much as in the discussion of Banff, introduces the various agents and gives consideration to their competing agendas before, during and after park designation. The last Chapter on the Cairngorms, focusing on events surrounding the delineation of a park boundary, along with associated planning powers, indicates that when elected representatives take an interest in park controversies the local residents' point of view may, to a degree, be translated into real power.

The Cairngorms are considered to be the most extensive and least human-modified areas of wild land in mainland Britain (Watson 1992). However, it is clear that even 500 years ago this was not pristine or untouched area, but instead was a landscape affected by centuries of human use (Smith 1987: 116, Watson and Allan 1990: 447-454, Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland 1995: 31-46). Archaeologists have uncovered evidence that the Badenoch and Strathspey area was widely settled from the Bronze Age onwards (Barrow 1988:9). Evidence of Neolithic and Bronze Age ritual monuments exist in Badenoch Strathspey and Morayshire. As well, prehistoric defenses and domestic settlements, some fairly well preserved, have been uncovered in Strathspey and Deeside. Glenshee has a particularly rich collection of hut circles and field systems. Pictish stones including a cross slab can be found along with numerous remains of early churches and chapels. Medieval castle mounds (mottes) and tower houses are

numerous, with best examples at Boat of Garten, Rothiemurchus and Nethybridge (Cairngorms Partnership 1996: 316-319). Recent work on shielings and deserted settlements show that prior to 1700, settlements extended far up the glens. The physical characteristics as they are today, following the centuries of human occupation are what set the Cairngorms aside and makes the area worthy of special designation as a national park.

The Eastern Highlands exude a sense of place created by human habitation, history and myth – they are an important part of the Scottish national birthright. Landscape is not passive but influences human activity and is changed by human activity in many different ways those who use spaces make them meaningful places. In the Cairngorms area, the sense of place was well established before the moniker of national park was attached to the landscape. There is no single sense of place for the Cairngorms. To some, the Cairngorms are special with regard both for its wildlife and its people - a place where the visitor can gain an insight into the awesome functions of the natural world, or be inspired by the beauty, wildness and sheer wonder of a surrounding where an indigenous populations continues to make rich and varied livings (Balharry 1990:11). But others see it as a devastated landscape (Darling 1955); in danger of becoming even more marginal due to de-population (Hunter 1995); as socially depressed by an unfair land ownership system (Wightman 1996, 1999); or after Andrew Thin's comments (above), as a focus of ridiculous conflict.

Human history plays an important role in everyday life in the Highlands, be it linked to livelihoods, patterns of residency, land ownership, systems of knowledge, or the structure of power and/or governance. The many towns and villages are proud of their individuality built upon what Cohen terms a sense or expression of locality

(Cohen 1985: 2-3). The unique character of each community is often traced to its history of land ownership - seen by some as the root of all discontent in the Highlands, by others as perpetuating a structure that secures a livelihood and provides value-added assets to the area. In Scotland, urban versus rural perceptions of a national park imposes a significant degree of contestation with respect to the landscape, as do local communities' and conservationists' conflicting views of land management. Those with a personal interest in the Cairngorms, who are 'at home' in the (potential) national park, include Scotland's citizens, conservationists, government bureaucrats, staff (i.e. scientists) employed by land-use management agencies and not to mention the permanently resident populations. This broader sense of ownership is not detracted from by the fact that most of the land is privately owned, a circumstance countered by right-to-roam[31] laws which reflect a nationalistic ideology that all Scotland belongs to all Scots.

Compared to Banff National Park, wilderness takes on a different meaning here. In the many extensive open un-treed areas in the Cairngorms, where one see few signs of modern civilization, one feels alone in a 'haunted wilderness'. This defines wilderness as separate from 'civilization', a place where, as Short puts it, "society loses its culture" (Short 1991: 19). This has proven to be important as "the value of the Cairngorms for outdoor recreation lies in its remoteness and sense of wilderness" (Countryside Commission for Scotland 1991) - a place to be protected, a place of greater knowledge and inspiration, a place to discover and expand your individuality in a non-invasive setting. To very many urban dwellers the area represents the authentic versus the artificial - a place to escape modernity, industrialized world, a retreat from every-day city life. In Scotland, as elsewhere,

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[31] One has the freedom to walk across privately held lands; it is not considered trespassing.

national ideologies invoke such myths of wilderness as part of the creation of a national identity (Short 1991: 58).

In all there are forty-six settlements within the Cairngorms, the largest with a population of just over 3000. Thirty-four of the settlements have populations below 500. In all, the area supports a population estimated at 18,000. [32] At some point, all residents within what has been defined though Regional initiatives as the Cairngorms Partnership Area (map7) were potential national park residents though in the end the park's boundaries were drawn more tightly (map 6). Badenoch and Strathspey, which stretches from Grantown-on-Spey in the north to Laggan in the south (map 5), is home to 65% of the population (Cairngorms Partnership 1996:20).

Cairngorms National Park Governance is complicated by the existence of numerous well established political organizations present and relevant to the areas long before national park designation – a reversal of the situation in Banff National Park. The name Scottish Natural Heritage (SNH) comes up often. With respect to its mandate for conservation, it is the organization in Scotland most similar to Parks Canada. Accordingly the new national park is very strongly criticised by some as an extra level of bureaucracy in respect of institutions already discharging conservation functions. But one intention of the Cairngorms National Park was to implement integrated and cooperative management of the area, in other words, to provide interdisciplinary and multi-level decision-making. Thus the National Park Authority comprises senior staff hired to direct planning, visitor services, community engagement and other functions specified in park management plan. In line with political promises, the mandate in the National Parks Act (Scotland) 2000 importantly includes a fourth aim not usually included in national park mandates. The first three

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[32] Based on the 1991 census plus 4.3% growth rate as predicted by the Cairngorms Partnership (1996: 43).

aims mimic those of most other national parks throughout the world, namely, conservation of cultural and natural heritage, sustainable use of natural resources and promote public understanding and enjoyment of the area. The fourth aim focuses on the social and economic well-being of the residents within the national park. This is certainly an improvement on the traditional North American national park model, which upheld exclusive management (and in some cases the forced relocation of residents). Yet there is still a gap among the different categories of people involved relating to the lack of clear purpose for the national park. The ethnography in Part of the thesis precisely revolves around this state of affairs.

Physical and Ecological Characteristics

The following describes the physical/ecological characteristics of the Cairngorms in very abbreviated terms; it does not do justice to the unique and diverse characteristics of the area. For a more complete and technical description, I highly recommend that readers consult *The Ecology, Land Use and Conservation of the Cairngorms* (2002) edited by Charles Gimingham.

For the naturalist, the Cairngorms present a chance to "visit the arctic" (Dennis 2002:45). The area is characterized by arctic-alpine, tundra-like biological communities and large areas of open ground. Boulder fields, stone fell-fields, steep sided corries and rocky crags provide evidence of the glacial processes that shaped the landscape (Brown and Clapperton 2002: 10-22). Four of the UK's five highest mountains are in the area along with fifty-seven other 'munros' (mountains over 914 m) (Dennis 2002:45).

The human exploitation and partial regeneration of the natural forests around the Cairngorms has resulted in a very mixed forest ranging from remnants of the

natural forest to plantations of single, non-native species (Atterson and Ross 2002:126). Coniferous and broadleaf woodlands cover 25% of the land area below 600 meters, the elevation generally accepted as the natural tree line[33] (Mackenzie 2002:117). This represents the most extensive example of boreal forest in Scotland (Cairngorms Partnership 1996: 191, Ratcliffe 1999: 81). Woodlands are predominantly Scots pine and birch of which approximately half are self-sown (Mackenzie 2002:114). Plantations create a landscape punctuated by straight edged polygons of planted and/or fenced woodland. One of the largest and most important remnants of natural forest in Scotland is found at Rothiemurchus estate (map 6). Included are stands of 'rare' Caledonian pine, protected under legislation as Sites of Special Scientific Interest (SSSI). Though the forest supports a relatively high level of biodiversity, improvements to species reproduction and security are being sought under the UK Biodiversity Action Plans and Species Action Plans (Ratcliffe 1999: 79-80).

Moorland, comprised of unploughed non-wooded land with semi-natural grammoid and dwarf shrub covers 57% of the Cairngorms (Cairngorms Partnership 1996:187). The plant community is made up of mostly heather moorland and blanket bog, the result of human activity in clearing the forest or preventing woodland regeneration by burning and grazing. Moorlands continue to be highly managed for grouse shooting and deer stalking, both important to the local economy. These areas are valued for their rare plant species and unique habitat for bird species of international importance (Price et al 2002: 35). Moorlands are also valued for their visual appearance, as places to walk and for the bright purple colours in the late

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[33] Forest and woodlands cover 11.8% of the total Cairngorms region (Cairngorms Partnership 1996:187).

summer; they afford views of a landscape considered stark and hauntingly beautiful. The extreme environment in the Cairngorms supports a distinctive vast rolling expanse of three-leaf rushes, anchored with a deep root system to survive the high winds. Above 900 meters, exposed slopes and summits are carpeted with woolly fringe moss, an indication of the arctic qualities of the environment - this is the same species used by the Inuit of northern Canada to line funeral biers (Wrightham 2002: 16).

Three main rivers divide the Cairngorms: the Dee, the Spey and the Don. For people, the Spey and the Dee, in particular, serve as locality indicators; a resident is certain to indicate whether he or she lives on the Speyside or (Royal) Deeside of the Cairn Gorm massif (map 6). Other aquatic features include high altitude springs and flushes and lower level altitude marshes and mires. The relatively unpolluted waters of the Cairngorms have significant economic importance for fishing, whisky distillation, tourism and recreation (Cairngorms Working Party 1993). Salmon fishing along the Dee catchments has been estimated to be worth six million pounds to the local economy (Cairngorms Partnership 1996). The Inch Marshes, on the River Spey near Aviemore, are a protected site and a favourite spot for bird watching.

The Cairngorms is home to an abundance of different animal species including over 230 species of birds, of which 54 species, identified in the *Red Data Book* for Britain, breed or have bred in the area (Dennis 2002:43). Among birds, of particular interest is the capercaillie, the largest of the grouse family, which was hunted to extinction before 1770. They were re-introduced in 1875 and fared well until the 1970s. The continual decline since that time has put the capercaillie once again in a critical state, prompting the Capercaillie Action Plan (Dennis 1999:24). Colourful and distinctive in appearance, capercaillie have taken on the role of charismatic mega

fauna. As with the grizzly bear in Banff, the capercaillie is a popular species often used in media campaigns to attract public support for certain agendas. The area also supports several raptor species, the eagles and harrier hens having a particularly high profile due to concerted efforts directed towards increasing their numbers. Hunting during Victorian times lead to the near extinction of raptor species seen to compete with human interests.[34] In recent years many of those species have recovered. Finally, in the arctic conditions of the high plateaus, the three most important bird species are dotterel, ptarmigan and snow bunting (Dennis 2003:45).

Thirty-four species of mammals inhabit the Cairngorms. Several have been hunted to extinction, notably: European beaver, brown bear, wolf, lynx, elk, wild boar, reindeer and polecat (Dennis 2003:52). While it is difficult to estimate the number of woodland deer due to their preference for tree-covered habitat, red deer populations, which prefer the open hills, are estimated at 50,000. Although a sufficient number is needed to sustain sporting estates, what is regarded as their overabundance is causing serious management concerns (Cairngorms Partnership 1996: 272, Dennis 2003: 552, Staines and Balharry 2003: 134-135). Through concerted conservation efforts, pine martin species have increased in recent years (Dennis 2003: 53). To some, this is seen as encouraging; others, like the gamekeepers and farmers I spoke with, suspect they are responsible for the decrease in raptor numbers. Restoration of the whole ecosystem, native pinewoods and animal species, is foremost on many land management and conservation organizations' agendas; therefore the re-introduction of larger mammal species is being considered. However,

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[34] The invention of the shot-gun lead to drastic destruction of birds of prey. Near Braemar 70 eagles and 2520 hawks and kites were killed between 1776 and 1786. In the forests of Gaick and Glen Feshie over a thousand kestrels and buzzards, 275 kites, 98 peregrine falcons, 78 merlins, 92 hen harriers, 63 goshawks, 106 owls, 18 ospreys, 42 eagles and other hawks were killed between 1837 and 1840, three years (Smout 1990: 11-12).

as farmers I met during a meeting called in Dulnain Bridge to discuss the national park explained, the introduction of certain species, such as the wolf and bear, may be problematic to sheep farming in particular.

Located at 57 degrees north latitude, the Cairngorms area may be noted a distinct difference between summer and winter temperatures and daylight hours. The weather on the high plateaus is generally more severe than in the glens, and gale force winds are not unusual. During the winter, such winds are responsible for the closing of schools and ski lifts, and for drifting on the roads. Temperatures have been recorded as low as –27 C, though in recent years they have rarely dipped below –14 C. Precipitation varies across the Cairngorms due to a rain shadow effect meaning that, as rain passes into the valley on the area's leeward side, it loses intensity depending upon the temperature, upper wind speeds and the height of the clouds. The average monthly precipitation is 74 mm., with October being the wettest month and June the driest. The Cairngorms are the snowiest part of Britain; strong winds on the plateau cause severe drifting and major deposits of snow in the corries and hollows (Brown and Clapperton 2002: 8-10). In especially cool years some of these deposits form year-round snowfields. In recent years snow has been relatively sparse and rain more prevalent during the winter months; gamekeepers have observed that this causes hardship conditions for that wildlife which manage better with drier snowier conditions (personal communications, P. Fraser and S. Cummings). This lack of snow has also caused problems for the three ski areas with the openings postponed until February in the 2002/2003 season, notably on the five occasions that I went to the Cairn Gorm to ski the area was closed due to winds over 50 mph.

Governance

Governance in the Cairngorms is complicated by recent changes including Scottish Devolution (1999), by the presence of governing and/or policy advisory bodies with authority prior to the designation of the national park and by the recent addition of the Cairngorms National Park Authority. On behalf of the Scottish parliament the Scottish Executive exercises authority over most domestic competencies in Scotland, including the environment. Within specified parameters, the National Park Authority acts on the Executive's behalf in the national park. In terms of local authority administration (local councils), the area is divided over five regions, Highland, Aberdeenshire, Moray, Angus and Perth and Kinross (map 5). These in turn are for various purposes split into smaller areas, such as Kincardine and Deeside, Badenoch and Strathspey, and Gordon, which are again divided into still smaller areas, focused around settlements which mostly have elected community councils. Official agencies active in the Cairngorms have significant influence on the day-to-day lives of residents; they also serve as a base for many of the non-residents who can be considered 'at home' in this area. The agencies and organizations most relevant to the writing of national park and land use management policy are briefly described next.

<u>Scottish Natural Heritage (SNH)</u>

Scottish Natural Heritage is a quasi-autonomous non-government organization (QUANGO) that reports to the Scottish Executive on conservation matters in Scotland. Under the guidance of the Scottish Executive, which appoints them for four-year terms, the SNH Board members determine the strategies, objectives and policies for the care and improvement of Scotland's natural heritage. The SNH board

is by three Advisory Boards (covering north, east and west Scotland), a Scientific Advisory Committee, and an Audit and Risk Management Committee.

The SNH aims are:

- to safeguard and enhance Scotland's natural heritage, particularly its natural, genetic and scenic diversity;
- to foster awareness and understanding of the natural heritage;
- to promote enjoyment of, and responsible public access to, the natural heritage in ways which do not damage it;
- to encourage public support for heritage in and around towns and cities, where most of Scotland's people live; and
- to encourage environmental sustainability in all forms of economic activity (www.snh.gov.uk 2003).

Highlands and Islands Enterprise (HIE)

Development in the Cairngorms is directed by three local enterprise companies supported by two publicly funded parent bodies, Highlands and Islands Enterprise (HIE) and Scottish Enterprise (SE). Most of the Cairngorms lies within the HIE remit though a small portion falls under Scottish Enterprise, whose primary concerns rest with the southern regions of Scotland. HIE has been active in the Cairngorms area through Moray, Badenoch and Strathspey Enterprise and through its ownership of the Cairn Gorm massif. As landlord for the company operating the ski area and the funicular railway, HIE was instrumental in administering European Economic Union funding for recent ski area developments. During my interview with Jim Hunter, HIE Chairman, he expressed earnest interest in the national park and its potential socio-economic benefits; in his view, the environment and landscape are major assets in Scotland as a whole. Primarily he was interested in "re-populating the

area and creating gainful employment while recognizing the value of the natural environment" (personal communication, J. Hunter).

The Deer Commission for Scotland

The Deer Commission for Scotland (DC for S) is a non-departmental public body that advises Scottish Ministers on all matters relating to wild deer in Scotland. The Deer (Scotland) Act 1996 gives the DC for S a range of duties and powers to control the damage done by deer to agriculture, woodland and the public (in the case of road accidents caused by deer). Included is the power to "deal with situations where there is not adequate local deer control" (DC for S 2001: 10). This almost exclusively means controlling the population of wild deer through culling, with a reliance primarily upon the Macaulay Institute for data upon which to base relevant decisions. The Cairngorms are divided into regional deer management groups; in recent years there has been unrest between the regional groups and the DC for S. The relationships between the DC of S, other agencies, gamekeepers and local communities is discussed in more detail later in this Part of the thesis.

The Forestry Commission for Scotland (FCS)

The Forestry Commission in Scotland is a branch of the larger government department responsible for forestry throughout Britain. Since devolution the FCS answers to the Scottish Executive for direction and funding. There are six Conservancies (subdivisions) that carry out regulatory and grant funding functions; three of these are active in the Cairngorms area: Highlands, Grampians and Perth. The primary duties of the Forestry Commission are to maximize the value of the forests resources over the next twenty years, to create a diverse forest that will contribute to the economy for the next century and beyond, to create opportunities for people to enjoy trees, forests and woods, and to help communities benefit from forests

and woods (www.foresty.gov.uk 2002). Foremost on its agenda is improving the biodiversity of forests and woods and there is a Native Woodland Habitat Action Plan and a Species Action Plan directed to this end. As well, there is a Cairngorms Forest and Woodland Framework, Local Woodland Biodiversity Action Plans, the Highland Birchwoods Local Initiative, and the Caledonian Partnership. The Scottish Forestry Grants Scheme encourages "the creation and management of woods and forests for economic, environmental and social benefit" (www.forestry.gov.uk). Forestry Enterprise, the biggest landowner in Scotland, is the agency under the FCS that manages state-owned forests. It takes a very active role in deer management.

Cairngorms Partnership

This organization, initially formed in 1991 as the Cairngorms Working Party, serves as a resource for the communities within a delineated Cairngorms (map 6). The Cairngorms Working Party undertook extensive studies in 1992 in preparation for an undisclosed form of partnership of cooperative land management scheme, thus providing a foundation for the subsequent national park proposal. The Cairngorms Partnership Board was created in 1994 as a limited company whose members represent the local, regional and national interests in the area. Members meet quarterly to "sustain the effort to ensure that the Cairngorms area receives the share of national resources to which it is entitled" (Cairngorms Partnership 2000: 24). Four forums operate under the umbrella of the Cairngorms Partnership: a) a Recreation Forum, b) Scottish Landowners Forum, c) Working Groups and Partners Group, and d) a Community Councils Group. The Cairngorms Partnership formed a group to discuss key issues that affect young people in the Cairngorms. Several events were organized, including a young people's survey, a youth conference, visits to other potential national park areas in Scotland, school workshops, information exchanges

with young people from national parks in Europe and attendance at a youth forum in Italy to produce a youth charter for national parks and protected areas. In 1998 the Partnership was given governmental remit to "secure sustainable development taking full account of environmental, social and economic factors, and to prepare the ways for the possible establishment of a national park by the Scottish Parliament" (Cairngorms Community Councils Group 2002:1). In 1998 a gathering was held in Battleby for local community representatives to develop a proposal for national parks in Scotland; this, in part, lead to the formal proposal for the Cairngorms National Park and importantly the public consultation process employed by SNH.

Cairngorms Community Councils Group (CCCG)

The Cairngorms Community Councils Group (CCCG) forms the bridge between the Cairngorms Partnership and the local communities. Comprised of fifteen members drawn from the town and village elected authorities in the region, this group is responsible for translating the management strategies into actions at the community level. Their stated purpose is " to represent and promote the shared interests of communities in the Cairngorms Partnership and the future Cairngorms National Park" (from a bulletin produced by the CCCG). During the build-up to the proposal for the national park in the Cairngorms, the CCCG made reconnaissance visits to national parks in England to investigate how communities there were involved in park management. The group played an active role in facilitating the consultation process and in exploring avenues for implementing the fourth aim for the national park (social and economic sustainability) in line with the other three aims (enjoyment, protection and sustainable use of the resources).

Cairngorm, Rothiemurchus and Glenmore Group (CRAGG)

CRAGG's 27 members all have a demonstrated vested interest in the areas

encompassed by the Cairn Gorm massif, Rothiemurchus Estate and the Glenmore recreation area (map 6). Forestry Enterprise, the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds, LINK conservation groups (see below), Highland Council, local businesses, local authorities and community groups involved with community planning are amongst those represented on CRAGG. The objective of the group is to build, through consensus, a strategy for the future management of the area, based on the four national park aims. Ideally, the group sees this strategy forming a template for the park management plan.

The next four membership organizations are primarily concerned with conservation, be it in the Cairngorms or other areas of Scotland.

National Trust for Scotland (NTS)

The National Trust for Scotland was established in 1931 to "act as guardian of the nation's magnificent heritage of architecture, scenic and historic treasures" (from an NTS brochure). It is a registered charity with 250,000 members, making it Scotland's largest voluntary organization. The NTS owns and manages 127 properties including Mar Lodge Estate which lies at the centre of the area that was proposed for the Cairngorms National Park. NTS took a very active role in the lead-up to the national park, both as a landowner and as a conservation body.

Royal Society for the Protection of Birds (RSPB)

The RSPB, formed in 1889, has over one million members worldwide. It describes its areas of work as: conservation policy, wildlife law enforcement and land purchase (www.rspb.com). "It is a highly professional conservation body which retains a campaigning zeal and a talent for publicity" (Matthew 2002:181). In 1988, the RSPB purchased Abernethy Forest (map 6) for £1.8 million, the largest ever land purchase in Europe by a voluntary conservation organization. The organization

exercises considerable political influence over land use policies, as described later with respect to grazing in Abernethy Forest.

John Muir Trust

The John Muir Trust was formed in 1983 to protect and conserve wild places and to increase awareness and understanding of the value of such places (www.jmt.org). The Trust believes that sustainable conservation can be achieved only through including an understanding of the human factors that contribute to the 'wild' landscape. It owns and manages seven properties in Scotland, though none in the Cairngorms. Within the Cairngorms, in 1992, the Trust, together with the RSPB and WWF, made an unsuccessful bid to purchase Mar Lodge (map 6). In 1994 this was followed by a second unsuccessful bid to purchase Glen Feshie (map6).[35] The John Muir Award, an educational initiative administered by the Trust, works with Scottish national parks to promote personal discovery and enjoyment of nature.

Scottish Wildlife and Countryside Link (LINK)

Formed in the 1980s, LINK provides a forum for conservation organizations to work together to care for and improve Scotland's heritage for people and nature. It lists over 30 member groups including the Cairngorms Campaign, the Mountaineering Council for Scotland and the Ramblers, all active in the Cairngorms area. LINK is sponsored by grants from WWF Scotland, Scottish Natural Heritage and the Scottish Executive, and is supported by subscriptions from member bodies, subscribers, supporters and charitable donations. [36] LINK actively lobbied for central planning powers in the national park and for expansion of the national park boundaries.

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[35] As noted, Mar Lodge was purchased by the National Trust for Scotland, Glen Feshie was traded on the international market.

[36] As outlined in a portfolio entitled *Scotland's Great Outdoors.*

Economy

T.C. Smout (1990: 24-25) describes three types of traditional attitudes towards land use in the Highlands of Scotland informed by ancient ways of seeing nature as resilient and then to be exploited for livelihood. Firstly, land is a resource from which to make a living by farming, forestry and commercial fishing. Secondly, land is a resource for the private, aristocratic pursuits of hunting, shooting and sport fishing. These two attitudes dominated land, law and public policy in the Highlands throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The third attitude is to regard land as a resource for industry, in particular hydro schemes which, according to Smout, is one reason Scotland has (until 2001) no land designated as national parks. Importantly, in his view, "the Cairngorms are one example of a land, still semi-wild, expansive and extremely beautiful, that is also the mainstay of local economies" (Smout 1990:5).

In the Scottish Highlands during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the transition from feudalism to capitalism, and the associated process of commoditization, saw the emergence of patterns of land holding that had major consequences in areas such as the Cairngorms today (Shucksmith 2002: 89). The land and the rights associated with it were commoditized and acquired market value (Shucksmith 2002: 95). Much estate land was consolidated into single tenant farms, or privately owned crofts and smallholdings (Devine 1994: 32-33). As a result by the 1830s the economic backbone of the Cairngorms area was a core of tenant farmers. A new farming class emerged employing landless and semi-landless labourers (Devine 1994: 46-47). Economic and market pressures from the lowlands transformed the Highlands in this way (Devine 1994: 31). The Highland region became an economic satellite, dependent upon demands for agricultural products from the industries and

cities in the lowlands and England. But one notes that today residues of feudal property rights and attitudes still pertain with respect to the many large estates that still exist, as we shall see later.

Today, the Cairngorms is segmented into geographically defined pockets, reflecting poor communications and transportation, especially east-west (Dee-side to Spey-side). There is no single 'local economy' or medium to large-scale enterprises serving as single source employers for the area (Shucksmith 2002:93, Cairngorms Partnership 1996: 20). Whisky distilling, which at one time was a major employer, has reduced its labour needs by replacing human labour with computerized technology. Barley is often purchased in a mashed state from an off-site source, thereby reducing the need an in-house workforce to undertake the labour-intensive mashing process. During a visit to Glenlivet distillery, I was informed that whisky production, which had employed up to 150 men, now employs four men per eight-hour shift. The bulk of Glenlivet's on-site staff (men and women) is employed in the visitor centre, constituting part of the tourism industry.

Of those actively employed in the Cairngorms area, 20% are self-employed, a significantly higher percentage compared to the rest of Scotland. Most employment is either environment related (land use industries or tourism) or is public sector, 6.9% of the eligible workforce is unemployed (Cairngorms Partnership 1996: 34). As with some other mountain areas in temperate climates, part time and seasonal employment are relatively important (Price et al 2002:22). This is considered an economically marginal area of Britain where it is difficult to expand business development due to environmental priorities set down in over-lapping and often complicated protected-site designations, and, because of the lack of suitable sites due to the terrain and limited transportation infrastructure (Cairngorms Partnership 1996: 590). Today there

is little prospect for growth in agriculture, manufacturing or production – as the area is now a national park.

The primary source of public funds for development and support to business is through three local enterprise units and their parent bodies, Highland and Islands Enterprise (HIE) and Scottish Enterprise. Local enterprise companies address community development activities and strategies for economic growth, support new and existing businesses and promote tourism. European Economic Union (EU) funding has been available to local authorities through the Leader II initiatives, [37] and there was a much-rumoured financial bonus from the EU directly in connection with the creation of the national park (personal communication, members of the Cairngorms Community Councils Group). Local authorities play a pivotal role in economic and social development with respect to investment, housing and public services and planning. Each region designs its own structure plan and includes a local strategy for addressing these demands. Development approvals are now, in some cases, also subject to review by the National Park Authority, a board of 25 elected and or appointed members. I was informed by staff in the Scottish Executive's Sustainable Development section that a form of environmental assessment based on EU policy would also soon be applied to development projects throughout Scotland.

Traditional Land use Industries

Land use industries, though economically eclipsed by tourism and the public service, continue to prevail in the Cairngorms. As noted by Balharry, agriculture,

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[37] Part of a series of initiatives aimed at encouraging rural community development, economic regeneration and co-operation between rural areas.

forestry, sport hunting and fishing support a livelihood for shepherds, stalkers, farmers and foresters (Balharry 1990: 11). Being an economically marginal area, a complex variety of grant and subsidy schemes are available. This has lead to some residents referring to themselves and their neighbours as 'grant-junkies'. Hopes have been expressed that the national park and the focus on conservation will lead to revenue for maintaining the area; in other words "being paid to look after what you've got, not chasing after the latest government gift horse" (personal communication, estate ranger W. McKenna). An elderly Ballater resident yearned for a return to simpler times when she told me: "In general people want a fair day's pay for a hard days work, not subsidies, and they also want to be sure that townspeople can eat if times go bad on us again." While hopes for a sustainable economy may rest more on tourism than existing land use industries, the central role land use has played in shaping the landscape and the communities in the Cairngorms cannot be overstated.

Agriculture

Archaeological findings provide evidence that farmers have populated the Cairngorms for several thousand years, clearing native forests for their livelihood in cropping and animal husbandry (Thomson 2002:97). Farms were allocated on a feudal system or run-rigs characterized by narrow strips of land cultivated by one family. The remains of run-rigs can still be seen in the glens along with ruins of shielings (stone huts) strategically placed to support movement of animals and people to higher ground during summer months (Thomson 2002:98). Traditional droving routes, like the Lairig Ghru, are now popular trails for recreationists. Today, mixed farming is relatively successful on the eastern periphery of the Cairngorms, on the Dee and Don sides of the massif. However closer to the massif, hill farms with little or no arable lands depend upon livestock, in particular the production of lamb for sale

in supermarkets.

A survey conducted by the Scottish Landowners Federation Cairngorms Liaison Group in August 2000 revealed that in the Cairngorms area thirty-six landowners let 261 farms and crofts and, in addition, there were thirty independently owned and operated farms (in-hand farms) whose management occupied 63 people full time. Across the Highlands, the average age of farmers is 53 and the shortage of successors is worrying (Fitzpatrick in Price et al 2002: 29). As with farm families in other areas and other countries, such as the Canadian prairies, the variable and often low economic return on farming is causing young people to take up other occupations. In the Cairngorms a short growing season, topography, soil conditions, and remoteness from markets put constraints on the agricultural industry (Cairngorms Partnership 1996:176). Since the 1970s, support for hill farming has operated under the European Community's Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) (Thomson 2002:101). Classified as a 'less favoured area' under CAP, farmers in the Cairngorms are allowed to claim compensation at a preferred rate averaging £368 per person in 1999 (Bryden, in Price et al 2002). Due to constant market prices and rising costs, farms incomes dropped by 80% in the four years to 1999 (Warren 2002). To compensate for this decrease, farmers receive an average of £21–30,000 per year in CAP subsidies, mostly in the form of subsidies and grants with a growing proportion going to agri-environment schemes (Price et al 2002: 30). According to farmers I met, in some cases subsidies allocated according to size of one's herd are the only form of income, encouraging farmers to stock more animals in spite of the threat of overgrazing. This has also lead to the phenomenon of 'bed and breakfast' sheep - animals being moved from one steading to another in time for the assessor to count them. The extent of this activity came to light during the foot and mouth epidemic

when animals could not be moved and inspectors were very active in the area.[38]

It is often assumed that farmers and conservationists must be in conflict (Vandesteeg, unpublished). This is not necessarily the case. Speaking of farming in Exmoor National Park (England) Ann and Malcolm MacEwan concluded that in the case of some farms there is no real conflict between farming and conservation, whilst with other farms the application of modern technology for higher production does mean a conflict. These writers consider that radical change is needed in agricultural and other policies with a different approach to compensation and controls in place, to inculcate a positive role for conservation and the development of associated ndustries (MacEwan and MacEwan 1982: 268-278). In the Cairngorms, the Cairngorms Working Party's 1992 consultation paper endorsed the role of traditional farming systems in the Cairngorms as a valuable basis for nature conservation and for a variety of socio-economic and cultural activities. As noted by Thomson (2002:103), a substantial number of farmers place environmental conservation and enhancement high on their list of priorities in land management decision-making. He feels this accounts for farmers' attachment to, and understanding of, local features of natural interest and their value. "The image, and often reality of the local farmers' hard work and frugal lifestyle hinders criticism that might be directed at agriculture as such" (Thomson 2002:103).

Nineteen Cairngorms land holdings are situated in the core mountain area and thus have no agricultural land; they are managed exclusively for forestry, nature conservation and moorland (Cairngorms Partnership 2000).

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[38] As explained to me by a former member of Scotland Yard, activities of this nature are rarely frowned upon as it is considered every Scotsman's duty to cheat the government whenever possible.

Forestry

The long and complex history of forestry and woodlands issues is given in very brief detail here. Extensive research has been undertaken, and once again I encourage readers to consult *Ecology, Land Use and Conservation in the Cairngorms* (2002), edited by Charles Gimingham.

About 7000 years ago over half the Cairngorms were covered by a "natural climax forest" (Mackenzie 2002:107). As noted above, in the section on agriculture, humans began removing these trees for farming around this same time. Neolithic peoples, who practiced shifting cultivation, used fire and axes to clear the forest; the first record of this activity is at Loch Garten, over 3600 BP (Mackenzie 2002:109). Around 4000 BP drastic climatic changes caused a decline in forest area and an increase in blanket bog.[39] The first record of forest management dates back to 1226 when the forest of Rothiemurchus (map 6) was granted to the Bishop of Moray for sport and grazing. The Bishop employed a head forester, as there was a conflict of interest between those who valued the forest for hunting and those who valued it for grazing and timber (Thomson 2002:109). Forests such as Mar and Abernethy (map 6), which were used by the King for sport, were granted exclusive protection. In Scotland Forest management increased in importance during the 16th century when timber started to become scarce due to a proliferation in building churches, monasteries and castles (Atterson and Ross 2002:121). Forest laws were introduced in 1535; the death penalty was levied against anyone convicted of a third tree cutting offence (Mackenzie 2002). It is now generally agreed that timber reserves in the lowlands of Scotland were totally depleted by the 16th century. Forest in the

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[39] While this information may seem to have little relevance to my study, I have included it because the present movement amongst some environmental groups to reforest the Highlands suggests that the hills were once totally in forest. Therefore it is important when judging the validity of this agenda to know the history.

Highlands remained more or less intact until the 18th century.

In the 1700s timber in the Cairngorms became an important resource, for shipbuilding and for export. In 1725 the York Building Company secured a 15-year lease to extract 60,000 trees from Abernethy Forest, followed in 1769 by a contract for a million trees from Abernethy and Dulnain; a further two and one half million were destroyed by fire. Rothiemurchus forest was being systematically depleted by local rather than external demands in the 18th century (Smout 1999: 61-64). Sawmills were erected and exploitation of pine continued through to the 19th century. To this point, seed trees provided sufficient natural regeneration (Atterson and Ross 2002:121).

In the 20th century, two World Wars had an irreversible impact on mature forests in the Cairngorms area. Drafted POWs and the Canadian Forestry Corporation, Newfoundland Forestry Unit, were used to fell vast numbers of the trees; the Canadians were chosen for their experience as lumberjacks (Mackenzie 2002:111; Baron 1985: 280). Many of these sites are still bare ground today in part due to the browsing of deer, which prevents regeneration. The head gamekeeper on Mar Lodge Estate showed me an area behind the lodge that had been cleared by the Canadians during WWII. The area is now enclosed by deer fencing in an attempt to promote natural regeneration for the forest. Presently, nearly 12% of the Cairngorms is covered in forest and woodland (Cairngorms Partnership 1996:20).

In the UK, the Forestry Commission was formed in 1919 to address the depletion of forests and to create employment in depressed rural areas; they are now the largest landowner in Scotland. In the early years, single species planting, mostly sitka spruce, lead to a loss of biodiversity and the habitat needed to support upland bird species. This in turn has lead to incentives for planting native species.

Harvesting the plantations has proven economically successful though fewer jobs were created than was intended. Other benefits of planting relate to recreation, tourism, landscape, and protection of watersheds, carbon sinks and habitat (Price et al 2002:33-34). The expansion of tree plantations at the expense of land for sheep grazing has created tension between the foresters and farmers. Tenant farmers have shown little interest in tree planting as it is a long-term investment and the trees would remain the property of the landowner. However, an increase in funding for tree planting through the Scottish Forestry Grant Scheme, the UK-wide Woodland Grant Scheme and the Farmland Premium has encouraged farmers to join the scheme.

Cairngorms Communities and conservation bodies are currently involved in forest management. Residents in Laggan formed the Laggan Forest Trust, a community based initiative that involves a partnership with local and national forestry organizations in an effort to ensure local employment in the forestry industry. It has also afforded the community an opportunity to assume ownership of five Forestry Enterprise houses in the village (personal communication S. Slimons). In 2002, the Highland Perthshire Communities Land Trust purchased Dun Coillich, located on a hill in the Tayside forest. The board of directors is made up from residents from the adjacent communities, and members are actively involved in surveying the current plant inventory and planning for the natural regeneration of the site (www.hpclt.org). The desire to "set things right" and to protect what is truly "our wee bit of hill and glen" is foremost on their agenda. In 1988, the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds (RSPB) purchased Abernethy Forest. As stated in the *Abernethy Forest Reserve Management Plan* (RSPB 2001) the aim is "to safeguard and enhance the internationally important site, principally for its scenic, geological and biological interest, and to demonstrate best conservation practice." For similar reasons, Scottish

Natural Heritage (SNH) purchased Creag Meagaidh in 1985.

Field sports

Hunting deer for sport in Scotland can be traced bock to the 12th century – according to the Doomsday Book, which lists gamekeepers and deerstalkers. While deer were eliminated from the lowlands by the 16th century they survived in the Highlands where they were (and some would say still are) "jealousy guarded" as objects of sport (Staines and Balharry 2002:130). It became apparent in the 1800s that deer forests were a more profitable use of the land than forestry and farming. When Rothiemurchus, Glenmore, Kinveachy and Abernethy converted their land to deer forests, tenants and sheep were removed to make way for more deer (personal communication A. Watson). One had to be properly trained to a particular qualification to assume an occupation killing deer, creating another notch in the rural class system. This attitude persists. According to Richardson "sport, such as stalking and grouse shooting, is an integral part of a system of patronage and privilege with direct access to government at the highest levels" (Richardson 1999:2).

The Scottish Landowners Federation Cairngorms Liaison Group's survey revealed that the number of people employed full time in field sports was 249 on 59 estates (Cairngorms Partnership 2000). The following values are attributed to game shot in a season: £22,000 per stag, £2200 per hind and £3000 per brace of red grouse and £3500 per fly-caught salmon (Strutt and Parker in Price et al 2002:36). These values link directly to the capital value of the estate, though it should be noted that they have fluctuated widely in recent years (Price et al 2002: 36).

Gamekeepers from Invercauld Estate, Mar Lodge Estate, Rothiemurchus Estate, Atholl Estate and the Forestry Commission generously gave of their time to provide me with their personal views and insights into deer sport hunting.

Traditionally the estates are not fenced; hence the number of deer on the estates constantly varies. One is permitted to cross an estate boundary in pursuit of a wounded deer. With respect to poaching, certain things are understood amongst gamekeepers and local residents. There is a deeply rooted belief throughout the Highlands that these are wild animals and that to take one for food is not a crime - "There are three things of which no man need feel ashamed: a stick from the forest, a salmon from the river and a stag from the hill" (Richardson 1999:2). Direct financial benefit from hunting occurs during a season that runs from the beginning of July to October 20th for stags and from October 21st to, traditionally, late December for hinds. Due to the high numbers of red deer, the hind season now runs to February. Clients, whom the stalkers refer to as 'rifles', pay on a per day, per stag or per week basis. [40] Each stalker, who may take out three or four rifles per day, directs the client to the animal he should shoot. Ghillies [41] are then radioed to collect the animal, usually by pony or a quad bike. Every animal must be removed and prepared for the larder. Since most clients are from elsewhere, the continent or North America, they are interested in neither the meat nor the antlers. The meat stays in the estate's larder to be collected weekly by a wholesaler for resale on the commercial market. Antlers are also kept on the estate; a particularly impressive collection is housed at Mar Lodge in the "Antler Ballroom" next to the lodge. During the hunting season, clients are usually accommodated in the lodges; this arrangement also provides part time employment for housekeepers and cooks.

Some practices on sporting estates - hunting with dogs, out-of-season culling,

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[40] In Glen Tanar the cost is £1000 per day (head ranger E. Baird), at Mar Lodge it is £280 per stag with each stalker taking out up to 5 rifles a day for the week and taking up to 50 stags per week (gamekeeper S. Cummings), and at Invercauld it is £250 per stag with 6 stags per client per week (gamekeeper P. Fraser).

[41] In this case, a ghillie is a man or boy who assists the head stalker during the hunt.

restricted access during hunting season and the perceived 'persecution' of raptors - evoke negative reactions from outsiders. While perfectly able to defend their actions, gamekeepers nonetheless feel threatened and are genuinely concerned that their lifestyle and profession is in jeopardy. There is also the sense that recent attention focussed on these activities is part of a hidden agenda to break up the estates.

Deer management is currently the most controversial and important issue associated with field sports. Managing the large population of red deer inhabiting the estates is labour intensive and currently at a critical stage. Counts of red deer in the Cairngorms are estimated at 50,000 (Staines and Balharry 2002:132). High densities have caused conflicts with agriculture, forestry and the natural heritage. It costs £20,000 a year to keep a man in a keeper's job. The costs associated with deer culling are becoming a crucial aspect of estate management. Many of the new landowners are leaving, due to the escalating costs of running an estate and a plunge in the market value of venison (Richardson 1999:5). SNH will fund deer management but not sporting estates so very few landowners will admit, to SNH, that they are a sporting estate. According to the head ranger at Glen Tanar, sporting estate owners will be "whatever you want them to be - wildlife managers, land mangers, conservation managers or tourism and recreation managers".

The red deer problem first surfaced in 1872 when a government inquiry was launched to investigate reports that they were damaging crops and competing with livestock for grazing. It was not until the 1960s that they were viewed as a major problem, in particular with respect to forest management. As outlined by Staines and Balharry (2002:134), the primary ecological issues are:

- lack of regeneration of native woodland, and
- grazing impacts of red deer on other plant and animal communities.

The main land-use issues are:

- conflict between woodland and vegetation recovery and deer stalking,
- loss of heather moorland and its effect on the grouse economy,
- loss of revenue and employment to the estates,
- loss of capital value, and
- conflicts between stalking and outdoor recreation.

The Deer Commission for Scotland (DC for S) set a target for reduction of the deer populations that, according to rumour, is five deer per sq. km. - rumour because, as a former stalker revealed, for this target to have been formally announced would have raised serious concerns amongst estate owners and their gamekeepers that the number was far too low to sustain the sport shooting industry. Locals sense that the DC for S is distant from the field and has adopted a clinical approach to management by relying primarily on scientists at the Macaulay Land Use Institute for advice. As recounted by a long-time gamekeeper on one of the largest and most active sporting estates,

> *I went to a meeting two years ago and the man from the Commission said, 'I'm only interested in dead deer'. The Commission is an authority that doesn't ask for advice. Not that many years ago it was managed by stalkers but is now managed by science-based experts.*

The means of achieving the DC for S target came under such severe scrutiny as to prompt the Scottish Gamekeepers Association to present a petition to Scottish Parliament for an independent inquiry into the cruelty and animal welfare implications of shooting red deer out of season (Petition PE455). The special session of the Cross Party Animal Welfare Group convened to hear evidence from the Scottish Gamekeepers Association, the DC for S and the Forestry Commission.

As noted, other estate-based field sports supporting the local economy are grouse shooting and fishing. Grouse shooting provides an economy that employs keepers and seasonally employs beaters to assist with the hunt, and service staff to

accommodate clients. The number of birds on the estate is controlled through local management and may be associated with the level of keepering (Hudson 2002:146). Grouse hunting entails management of the heather moorland, which is achieved through a combination of muir burning and grazing by sheep and deer. Salmon and trout are the most popular sport fish species in the Cairngorms. Salmon fishing is divided into 'beats', often with a ghillie [42] employed to attend the fishermen who have paid for the right to fish that beat. District salmon fishing Boards are responsible for local management and ensuring regulations are adhered to. The river Dee is famous for its salmon fishing, and detailed maps displayed in pubs and hotels provide current and historical information on the location of the beats. Another productive site is on the river Spey downstream from Grantown-on-Spey. Sea trout fishing rights are tied to salmon rights; once again the Spey and Dee provide good sea trout fishing.

Tourism

Tourism has become the number one industry in the Cairngorms. Ideally, with the designation of the national park, this is the 'non-extractive' land-use industry that will continue to grow. Thomas Gray, in 1765, was the first Englishman to write in admiration of the Highland scenery: "The mountains are ecstatic and ought to be visited in pilgrimage once a year" (Gray, in Smout 1990:8). Today, the uplands landscape is the mainstay of Scottish tourism (Wrightham 2002:30). This is particularly true in the Cairngorms, which is readily accessible from Scotland's central belt and hence valuable in terms of potential revenue from tourism. A distinctive Highland 'brand', often based on the images created by Sir Walter Scott and Robert Louis Stevenson, is recognized worldwide. Tourism is by far the largest

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[42] In this case, a ghillie is a fishing guide.

employer in the Cairngorms, employing 41% of the working population (Cairngorms Partnership 1996:23).

"Imaging the past is profitable" (Bender 1993: 268). True to Bender's statement, the Scottish Highlands, including the Cairngorms, are steeped in a history that amounts to symbolic capital that equates to real monetary capital in the tourism industry. "Visit Scotland distinguishes itself from the British Tourist Authority, it sells Scotland as a different country, a different culture and a different history" (*Scotsman* February 1, 2003). Here, residents in the Cairngorms admit they love to invent history and their prejudices are deep rooted. Today's capitalization on 'saleable' heritage is not new. "With respect to clanship, dominant families liked to trace their origin from a heroic figure to give prestige, status and legitimacy to their position while providing ordinary clansmen with a common sense of identity with the elite. Most of the pedigrees were invented with scant historical accuracy" (Devine 1994: 7). Regardless of one's ancestral social status, Scottish diasporas are a boon to the tourist industry.

The history of tourism in the Scottish Highlands is akin to the evolution of tourism in North America – in particular where social attitudes towards wilderness are involved. According to Tom Devine, the Highlands were viewed as " barren, inhospitable and inhabited by a barbarous population disaffected by the crown" until the mid 1800s when the 'romantic movement' changed this, sparking new interest in nature and modern attitudes toward scenic beauty (Devine 1994: 77). During this same period the area became a centre for hunting, fishing and shooting. The Inverness Courier reported in 1835 that "even unconquerable bareness is now turned to good account. At the present moment we believe many Highland proprietors derive a greater revenue from their moors, alone from grouse shooting, than their whole rental

amounted to sixty years since" (Devine 1994: 78). In the 19th century, the railway opened up tourism in the Cairngorms. In the 1830s, the Caledonian railcoach left Edinburgh three times a week loaded with a new breed of tourists that included botanists, artists, geologists and shooting parties bound for the scenic and sporting opportunities in the Highland estates (Devine 1994: 80). The first guide book on the area was written in 1831. It highlighted popular hill walks between Atholl and Strathspey and the Mounth (Watson 1992). The Cairngorms Club, formed in 1893, speaks of visits to Aviemore in its journals, giving an account of a trek starting from Braemar and ending at a small village to the west of the Aviemore rail station (Lynwilg) with a comfortable hotel (Cairngorms Club Journal 1896).

Today Aviemore is the principal growth point and employment centre in the Cairngorms and plays a key role in tourism and recreation (Cairngorms Partnership 1996: 35). According to Neil Sutherland, chairman of the local enterprise company, approximately 850,000 visitors per year come to Badenoch Strathspey, and 500,000 of these turn off at Aviemore and head up the road past the Glenmore Centre – an alpine sports training facility. Over the last 30 years, rapid growth in population and development have lead to social and environment problems that in turn have created a perception of compromised tourism opportunities. The present state of the neglected and nearly vacant Aviemore resort, with its outdated and unattractive architecture, creates a local problem that will soon be a national park problem. To repeat a commonly heard phrase, "You can't have a dump like Aviemore in a national park."

Services and attractions are spread throughout the Cairngorms, including hotels, motels, shooting lodges, bothies, [43] hostels, B and Bs, guest houses,

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[43] Un-serviced rustic accommodation generally used by hill walkers, backpackers and cross-country skiers.

restaurants, pubs, shops, visitor centres and campsites. Visitor are attracted by: a wildlife park, Balmoral and Blair castles, historic houses, gardens, distilleries, museums, ski areas, water sports, hill walking, climbing, sporting estates, Highland games, sheep-dog trials, bird watching, fishing and the national sports centre at Glenmore. Most estates employ a ranger service whose duties include delivering environmental education to the public. Rothiemurchus (map 6) employs three and a half full time rangers, and three seasonal rangers, partly supported by SNH. There is also a receptionist who provides support to the ranger service and fifteen other staff looking after visitors on the estate. Mar Lodge (map 6) has two rangers and three stalkers, all trained to deliver interpretive and environmental messages. Much of the work is seasonal and part-time, wages are typically low and there is a high turnover in staff.

One purpose of the national park is to strengthen the competitive position of the area with respect to tourism, making the prospect of the park more attractive to local residents. While tourism is the major employer the dilemma is that of providing quality employment for school graduates and those seeking employment after additional training. The laird (owner) of Rothiemurchus offered the following insight into local employment in tourism: "Interpretation needs to be local but they (locals) do not see this as an appropriate job. The really knowledgeable folks, the hill people, are shy and don't speak out and therefore they are not good at it. So the outsiders take things over." In contrast, employment as a countryside ranger is considered a valued and respected profession. In many cases the services delivered by a ranger are very similar to those delivered by a national park interpreter. The head ranger on the estate spent a good deal of his time describing his plans for a ranger-training program. The purpose behind the program is not only to improve the ranger services but to give

local young people an edge regarding local employment opportunities and to put their knowledge of the area to use.

Charles Jedrej, an anthropologist, and Chris Smout, an environmental historian, both of whom have conducted extensive research in the area, express pessimism over local involvement in tourism. Jedrej feels that while land use and protection, whether under a national park regime or not, are areas where local knowledge is most appropriate - tourism should be left to the outsiders. "Locals do not understand the economy of tourism, right now it is evident in the poor hotels and service in the area" (personal communication Jedrej). Smout (1990: 25-27) also sees the tourism industry being primarily lead by those living outside the Highlands. The indigenous folk restrict themselves to traditional land use, a situation that increases the tension and ambivalence between 'locals' and 'incomers' (Gunn, in Smout 1990:27). Taking a practical approach to the matter, a local councillor from Aviemore shared with me that "the development of tourism needs to come from the incomers. De-population means people move to the cities and there is no one local around to do it."

Tourism is subject to sudden downturns. 2001 was a disastrous year due to foot and mouth disease and the closing of the countryside to visitors. Successive years of marginal snow cover have had a serious effect on the viability of the three ski areas. Investment in the funicular railway on the Cairn Gorm massif increased ticket sales significantly but restrictions on summer use may, over the next few years, cause numbers to drop. The other ski areas, the Lecht and Glenshee, have enjoyed only minor investment; hence they are in need of major capital upgrades if they are to be competitive.

Large-scale tourism in the Cairngorms, as in any natural area, is laden with

development and environmental issues. It is some people's view that "to date the Cairngorms have escaped the disturbance, erosion and congestion associated with tourism and leisure activities. Hence leaving the way open for aggressive tourism marketing" (Cairngorms Partnership 1996: 146). Since the formation of the Cairngorms Club in 1887 and Scottish mountaineering clubs in 1889, over 2700 'pilgrims' have completed all Scotland's 284 'munros' [44] (Wrightham 2002: 30). Concerns have been expressed over the unruly expansion and poor condition of the hill track network and the damage that is being done to the ground in areas where people congregate (Cairngorms Partnership 1996:147). The informal routes that do not follow stalkers' paths are more susceptible to erosion and there is concern over the random destruction (Watson 1984: 151-160). Prior to opening of the funicular railway in 2001 restricting access to the Cairngorm plateau by the increasing number of visitors who used the ski lift conveyance had been under discussion for several years. "The value of the Cairngorms for outdoor recreation lies in its remoteness and sense of wilderness" (Countryside Commission for Scotland 1991). There was a concern that this will be compromised if vehicular and conveyance access was increased. It was considered unlikely that new public roads would be built toward the massif but private shooting roads do penetrate the Cairngorms in many areas (Cairngorms Partnership 1996: 152). As a result, visitors to the Cairngorm summit on the funicular today are not allowed to roam on the plateau and are confined to a restaurant/viewpoint area. The reclaiming of up-tracks and other over-used/erosion causing routes is important to the Cairngorms Campaign and other NGOs; under National Trust for Scotland management, Mar Lodge estate is ambitiously reclaiming hill tracks past the Linn of Dee, an effort for which they have received much praise.

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[44] A mountain over 914 meters ft. high.

Public Services

The public sector employs 30% of the workforce in the Cairngorms area in education, health and emergency services, local and regional government offices, public utilities, postal service and financial institutions (Cairngorms Partnership 1996:34). Due to the size and topography of the area and poor east to west transportation and communications (Shucksmith 2002:93), many public services are disjointed. Grantown-on-Spey is the largest settlement with a population of 3300. Other primary settlements on the Spey side are Aviemore (2400) and Kingussie (1500). On the Dee side, Ballater (1260) and Braemar (410) are primary centres. Villages dispersed through the area have populations of between 250 and 500 people. Most communities have primary schools, in some cases with very small classes. I was told Blair Atholl Primary School operated one year with only seven students. Secondary schools are centralized in Kingussie, Aboyne, Grantown and Aberlour. Local post secondary education is limited to distance learning with the Highlands and Islands Millenium Institute.[45] Hospitals are centralized in Grantown on Spey, Pitlochry, Kingussie, and Aboyne. Most of the communities have a surgery.

Local issues

The CCCG cited in their summary of the 2002 workshop that employment, housing and de-population were the primary issues in the Cairngorms. I would add transportation to the list. Housing issues were on most agendas as there is an expectation that the national park will address this. Depopulation is linked in part to

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[45] Linked by technology, the Highlands and Islands Millenium Institute (aka University of the Highlands and Island) provides access to university-level education through a partnership of colleges and research institutions.

the housing situation and in part to the lack of suitable employment so once again there is an expectation that this may be reduced though national park initiatives.

Housing

Housing is one of the most important and emotive issues throughout the Cairngorms. A housing study conducted in the area identified four major constraints on housing: a) estate ownership and the reluctance to release lands for housing development, b) the high percentage of land close to settlements that is designated for protection and restricted use, c) the lack of capacity for suitable infrastructure such as sewage, roads, and d) the cost of land. [46] However the main problem may stem from the area's attractiveness for in-migration by holiday homebuyers and retirees. The subsequent impact on the housing market means a lack of affordable housing for local people. This in turn leads to out-migration of young people due to lack of housing and lack of suitable employment. Over 25% of the housing is holiday homes (Cairngorms Partnership 1996: 40). Residents in Nethybridge complain that most of the houses in the new development, next to the elementary school, are occupied by holiday home owners and retirees, not the families they were intended for because the price is too high for indigenous families. A housing project near Aviemore met with considerable resistance in the community. While the proponent and landowner felt certain in 2002 that planning approval was forthcoming if not already granted, residents opposed the development, feeling that once again local needs were being ignored in favour of opportunism and private gain as the units were meant for the holiday-home market.

Of the 73% of the housing that is locally occupied, over 25% of it is employer-

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[46] Which, incidentally, is much lower than in central Scotland (Cairngorms Partnership 1996).

let and 20% is need-allocated council-owned housing. Allocation of council housing comes under constant criticism. Several Aviemore residents expressed concerns that, "The council housing in Aviemore all goes to single mothers. They move up here, get pregnant and decide to stay. They are taking advantage of the system." The census documents I consulted did not confirm this and therefore this criticism may simply reflect some local sentiments against incomers and single mothers. I was told that the length of waiting lists for council housing is not considered an accurate indication of the actual need because many people will not bother putting their name on the list; locals know there are no vacancies. The average waiting time is 10 years in Badenoch and Strathspey and 12 years in Blair Atholl (Cairngorms Partnership 1996: 45). In the meantime they live in staff hostels, tied houses, winter lets, and caravans. Most recent figures show that 400 homes in the Cairngorms are below the nationally determined tolerable living standard (Cairngorms Partnership 1996: 44). As to owner occupied housing there is a strong demand for this exacerbated by an increase in one-person households, mostly due to the elderly population and in-migration. Local estate agents report that there is a dual market. Thirty-five percent of the purchasers are second homeowners and in-migrants who prefer traditional style properties in a rural setting. Local demand is for modern accommodation in established settlements. Rental accommodation for indigenous populations is limited by the fact that an owner can obtain higher rents for tourist lettings, even with the short season.

Sustaining a decent housing stock for local people in the Cairngorms is a complex issue. "During the Thatcher years they were selling council houses; if you owned it you would look after it". But, as revealed to me by a long-time Braemar resident: "instead folks were buying them cheap and renting them out or re-selling them for a profit". As suggested by a Newtonmore resident, one way to address

sustainability is to limit new housing to local people and denying it to incomers; this will keep the price at an affordable level and will reduce the stress on the environment. In his view, "you cannot continue to build at the current rate without damaging the park, therefore limit all new housing to locals and introduce a need-to-reside." Two local authorities asked that I provide information on Parks Canada's 'need-to-reside' regulations, which are intended to address housing issues though restricting residence entitlement. I very much doubt that they would be deemed appropriate or enforceable in these Highland communities since they would be introduced after centuries of shifting patterns of occupation. There is ongoing speculation amongst residents on the negotiations and 'back-room deals' underway in the housing industry. In an Aviemore resident's view: "The 47 new houses being built at the end of the village (Aviemore) are part of a deal with Strathclyde Council to provide housing for folks from Glasgow. It might work out in the long run though, there was a sewage problem. If Strathclyde fixes it then Highland and Islands (HIE) can build more houses."

Estate owners and factors are also frustrated with the housing situation. An estate owner described his position thus: "We are trying to build more housing for the local people. The land is only the first step, then you need the planning permissions from at least three different authorities for the infrastructure. You can't just dive in. And you had better be prepared to spend considerable time and money to make very little progress." An estate factor echoed his frustration: "If it were not for estate housing, there would be little or no rural housing available. The vision of the nasty landowners not giving up land for housing is not true, there are no services or facilities and we can't expand housing until the local and regional authorities get that in place. We'd love to sell land for housing, we can't make money off the sheep that

are on it."

De-population

Inadequate housing and employment opportunities are seen as the major cause of what residents consider a serious problem of de-population.[47] While the overall numbers may be in question, there is sufficient evidence to demonstrate that de-population has, historically, had serious effects on the area. In *Land of the Lost: Exploring the Vanished Townships of North East Scotland* (1997) Robert Smith tells the story of old crofting communities inside the new park boundaries on Deeside and Donside that are now no more than names on a map. "Evictions, famine, army recruiting...they all added up to a steady erosion of life in the glens" (Smith 1997:viii). Many Highlanders lost their lives in wars. The Highlands are a traditional source of fighting men, beginning with the Seven-Year War (1756 – 63), then the American War of Independence then the Napoleonic Wars (Devine 1994: 43, 49). During the First World War, gamekeepers were sought after for their skills with rifles (personal communication, gamekeeper R. Rose). "Grief, anger, aspiration, sudden destitution, despair – these were the states of the Highland society in the years immediately following the carnage of Flanders" (Macleod 1996: 299). My own ancestral family lost three brothers, all members of the Gordon Highlanders, during one week of fighting in France.

Out-migration occurred throughout the 18th century. In spite of agrarian changes in the region that improved the standard of living, continuous migration to the south meant that between 1755 and 1790, 60% of the regions' parishes

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[47] It should be noted that in fact the population is at least stable but the numbers are being made up by outsiders as the birth versus death rate of indigenous peoples shows a decline (Cairngorms Partnership 1996).

experienced no population increase (Devine 1994: 46-47). From 1760 to 1775, 10,000 Highlanders migrated to North America; eastern Highlanders emigrated to Upper Canada and the prairies and the Islanders went to Nova Scotia (Macleod 1996: 293). One reason for the growth in out-migration was the growing trade in Canadian timber to Scotland in the early 19th century. The demand for Canadian timber increased as a result of the wars requiring large vessels. As the ships had low freights outbound, the surplus capacity was filled with emigrant traffic (Devine 1994: 180). While some view this as a forced emigration, most would say it was emigration by choice. The desire to exercise free will, the lure of cheap land and the freedom from feudal oppression promoted emigration. It is important to note that many who emigrated were of the middle class, emphasizing that it was often by choice (Devine 1994: 182).

During the 1960s, in an effort to deal with the Highland problem of de-population, industry, including hydroelectric schemes and manufacturing, was introduced under the auspices of the Highlands and Islands Development Board. This attracted labour from the south, but with it came new social problems. Quickly and poorly constructed housing was erected in nearby villages and the previous character of many communities was lost. When a project failed the area was saturated with workers on the dole (Macleod 1996:352). Thus "it seemed to many, at the end of the twentieth century, that the future of the Highlands lay not in further industrial development, not embalmed as some sort of pure, empty theme park, but in its regeneration by a new wave of settlement...such incomers would not, for the most part, be Highlanders, nor necessarily would they be Scots" (Macleod 1996: 359). Currently, the population is growing at a rate of 7.8%, since the death-rate exceeds the birth-rate; this is due to in-migration (Cairngorms Partnership 1996:41). From a

community sustainability standpoint this is still disappointing as most of the incomers are retirees, not young families.

Transportation

In my research, transportation occasionally came up as an issue in some areas; once again residents feel it should be addressed by national park planners. The A9 is the major highway between Perth and Inverness providing a relatively modern and upgraded vehicular route north to south route on the Spey side of the massif. Scotrail runs north and south, from Perth to Inverness, with five trains per day. Train-to-bus connections are poor, as demonstrated in Blair Atholl where local efforts have failed to resolve bus arrival and departure times with rail arrival and departure times. The seriousness of the public transportation difficulties is affirmed by the Volunteers in Action for Badenoch group who are mainly involved with a car care scheme - getting those residents without vehicles into Inverness for appointments or other services. Residents in Newtonmore, for example, must drive to Inverness if they want to participate in evening activities such as a movie or theatre because the train schedule would not allow them to return to Newtonmore that same evening. There is no rail service on the Deeside of the massif, so in this area one relies on buses for public transportation. As a fieldworker I was compelled to rent a car for all but a few trips to Aviemore or Aberdeen.

Land ownership

This section provides background on an important aspect of Highland culture and society. To give the reader an insight into the implications of land ownership I have selected this excerpt from Morris (1993). It describes an imaginary visit to the

Cairngorms by assessors for World Heritage Status:

> Entering the Highland region sector of the Cairngorms, the assessors would note the changing pattern of land ownership. Behind the first village, Dalwhinnie, the traditional owners sold in 1992 to new owners from the Netherlands. Disillusioned by a very wet August in 1992, these new owners put the estate back on the market; it now appears to be owned by people from Switzerland. At the next village, Newtonmore, the locally based family who owned most of the surrounding land sold in early 1993. It is now owned by people from Italy. At the third village, Kingussie, all the land from the village golf course to the summit of the Monadh Liath massif is controlled by Dutch landowners. The assessor would be bound to ask whether the legitimate needs of local communities can be met under such a land ownership pattern and whether local councils are properly equipped to apply what few regulations are available to restrict damaging land-use actives (in Shucksmith 2002:89).

Capitalism introduced a different approach to production but echoing feudal ownership patterns, large tracts of land remain in the hands of a few individuals/families owners who now include overseas speculators. "Scotland has the most concentrated pattern of private land ownership in the world (and) the pattern is even more exaggerated in the mountains" (Price et al 2002:24). Based on the Cairngorm Partnership numbers (1996) one calculates that less than 1% of the population in the Partnership area owned more that 98% of the land. For some this system of landownership is a source of tension and a serious local issue. For others, it secures their livelihood and landowners who make social and economic contributions to the community are respected and valued. Members of the Cairngorms Partnership holds the view that the system lacks flexibility – specifically cited are restrictions on

the release of land for housing and development, restrictions on public access [48] and difficulties in developing green tourism (Cairngorms Partnership 1996:36). There is also concern that the transfer of large estates to conservation bodies restricts development and reduces employment opportunities. Others believe that substantial employment can be generated by conservation (Cairngorms Partnership 1996:37). One can also argue that breaking up large estates is a threat to environmental protection simply because it means there is less chance that land will be left untouched and intact.

Clearly land ownership is a controversial and complex matter. "From much of what is written about Scottish estates, people could be excused for inferring that they can easily be embraced in a single definition; however, in reality this is far from being the truth" (Cairngorms Partnership 2000). There is no such person as the 'typical landowner' (Price et al 2002:24). In the Cairngorms area individuals, families, syndicates, Trusts, mass membership bodies and public agencies make up the 168 registered landowners who collectively manage 651,600 hectares of land (Cairngorms Partnership 2000). Public ownership, by the Forestry Enterprise, SNH and charitable organizations like the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds (RSPB), John Muir Trust and the National Trust for Scotland has increased. The National Trust for Scotland owns Mar Lodge estate (map 6), which occupies 12% of the national park area. The RSPB owns Abernethy Forest (map 6) on the opposite side of the massif from Mar Lodge. Highlands and Islands Enterprise owns the massif. It was made abundantly clear to me by members of a community land trust that, of the three, John Muir Trust earned the greatest degree of support from communities. While they are

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[48] Arbitrarily applied by new owners as traditionally Scots enjoy the right to roam, as mentioned already in this thesis.

seen as 'big daddy' and patronizing, they are preferred over the RSPB, considered an English organization with too much political clout, or SNH, a QUANGO seen as an "untrustworthy branch of the Edinburgh Mafia that employs mostly people from the south who have no notion of the Highlands" (personal communication, member of a community land trust).

With regard to the estates, it is exceedingly difficult to discern who owns what in the Highlands. In part this is due to the fact that, as Kevin Cahill concludes in his book *Who Owns Britain*, "the rich and powerful have done a pretty good job of covering their tracks" (*The Scotsman* December 8, 2001). By asking local people who owned what, I was left with the impression that the gamekeepers are most cognizant on this topic. In part it is also due to the nature of feudal title, aspects of which still remain; in addition to property rights there are less obvious rights that may or may not be transferred upon the sale of the land. While a portion of the estate may be sold, sporting rights over the entire estate may be maintained. To complicate matters further, the feudal system is hierarchical with essentially three levels. In descending order they are: crown, the feudal superior (noble granted lands by the crown) and the vassal (landholder in possession). [49] The crown retains certain rights, other rights may or may not be transferred down the chain of landholders, hence creating hidden maps of land ownership (Shucksmith 2002: 90).

In the past, parts of the Cairngorms area were crofted, meaning small plots of land were transferred to private ownership. Some crofts remain intact and in the hands of family decendants. Recently crofters have been granted the right to sell their crofts though transferring or selling entails (often) insurmountable amounts of legal

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[49] Since researching this thesis, the feudal system was abolished as at 28th November 2004. After that date there are no Feudal Superiors. This has the effect of making invalid many, but by no means all, burdens in existing feudal titles. Further information on the Abolition of Feudal Tenure Etc. (Scotland) Act 2000 is at www.hmitchell.co.uk/abolition-of-feudal-tenure.htm.

and political administration. For this reason, crofts are referred to locally as 'a small piece of land surrounded by legislation'. Traditionally their owners produce basic subsistence produce and sell small amounts of surplus on the market. One croft I visited near Rothiemurchus provided a comfortable home for a family of four, the primary income being earned off-site from employment in a local industry. Others are not so fortunate. As described to me by an SNH employee who was also the local enumerator, some crofts are so small that they share an address with their neighbour, each portion being defined by a fraction (i.e. ½). They lack running water and central heating and generally are occupied by elderly couples who have seldom ventured further than the local village. To quote the enumerator, "this state of poverty is shocking in modern-day Scotland."

"The critical issues influencing the management of land are not the ownership per se but rather the interests and intentions of the owners" (Price et al. 2002: 26). Landowners have considerable control over the way land is used, directly and through tenancy agreements (Cairngorms Partnership 1996: 36). Almost three-quarters of the estate owners have some form of nature conservation management plan in place for special habitats and species. These include informal agreements with SNH regarding Sites of Special Scientific Interest (SSSI), National Nature Reserves (NNR), Special Protection Areas, Special Areas of Conservation (SAC), and management plans with grant schemes such as the Woodland Grant Scheme, Countryside Protection Scheme (CPS) and Environmentally Sensitive Areas (ESA) (Cairngorms Partnership 2000). As well, landowners are directly involved with Local Biodiveristy Action Plans (LBAPs). Concerns have been raised that the traditional landowner, who recognizes his social responsibilities, is being replaced with farmers who lack the capital for advanced technologies, and regard the land only as a means of production. Farmers

are aware of their responsibilities to the environment but may not have the commitment and skill to carry this through (MacEwan and MacEwan 1982: 280-281).

A survey of traditional estate owners, completed in 1983 by Armstrong and Mathers, disclosed that the primary reason for continuing to hold the estate was family continuity followed by sport. This puts an emphasis on the value of the land rather than its exchange value, contradicting the modern commoditization process (Shucksmith 2002:90). "The lairds are no better or no worse than anyone else, they have an interest in looking after their land so they can pass it on to their children, that's something no politician can do" (personal communication, Braemar resident). For many estate owners the estate is the only form of income and owners are typically conservative in their management technique, more likely to respond to fiscal considerations than being innovative or experimental. During a brief conversation following a community sponsored meeting on the national park in Kingussie, a local landowner discussed how he wants to keep his land, but that is not a simple task. "My staff complain about how the neighbouring absentee-owned estate has new Land Rovers, and housing and roads and the latest equipment, but I can't afford that. I am making the living from the land, that laird makes his fortune elsewhere." To increase the land's economic viability, my informant has expanded his own the estate's tourism services.

In the year 2000, landowners in the Cairngorms area invested £20 million into their property and provided 600 jobs, often in parts with few other employment opportunities (Cairngorms Partnership 2000). Owners, and most of the indigenous local people I met, are fully cognizant of the role estates play in delivering wider social and environmental benefits. They provide clean water, wildlife habitats, places for outdoor recreation and relaxation and maintain the natural heritage that attracts so

many people to the Highlands. These public benefits are largely provided at private cost (Price et al 2002:25). For traditionally-minded owners this is simply viewed as an obligation and a sense of stewardship that is part of their long-term commitment to their land and the communities associated with it. Owners apart, certain families have been tenants on the same properties for over 300 years, as farmers in Finzean are proud to point out. However, I often heard the complaint that renters, including tenant farmers, see little advantage in self-improving their properties as, in the end, the owner benefits not the occupant. An estate tenant expressed his fears that, "now that we are going to be part of a national park, the laird will want the land back because it is more valuable for conservation than farming" (personal communication, estate tenant).

The capital value of estates is primary based on the value of available game and the income generated from stalking, grouse shooting and fishing. Costs associated with maintaining the estates, and growing losses has forced the break up of some large older estates, leading to what Andy Wightman describes as "a rapid turnover of lands that are now viewed more for their capital investments and leisure use by offshore owners" (Wightman, in Price et al 2002: 25). In some cases the impact on local communities is minimal as the new landowners are absent and choose to retain the existing staff and arrangements with the community. Ian Richardson, medical doctor and resident in Badenoch and Strathspey for over 30 years, describes the relationship between estate owners and residents in his book of short stories and interviews about the area: "By and large the wisest of the estate owners have come to terms with the indigenous population, and if a demand for nationalization or expropriation of the Highland estates has not arisen, it is due to a mutual tolerance and even respect"(Richardson 1999: 5).

Relationships between owners and tenants also reflect 'understood' arrangements. I often heard that there is a sense that the landowners influence the country voice; that tenants feel disempowered by landowners and factors (estate managers). The 'locals' do not speak up at the meeting because their compliance is instrumental in some other 'deal' they are making with the landowner or factor. They will be there and show support for the landowner's views, then continue their personal negotiations afterwards. To the tenant this is not necessarily considered in negative terms, to SNH officials conducting public consultations on the national park it was seen as an instance of landowners oppressively misusing their power.

Richardson asserts that "a new breed of landowner has been taking over Highland states; the old aristocracy is wilting"(Richardson 1999: 5). Some 'new landowners' have invested heavily, greatly improved their estates, and have blended in with the social scenery, taking care to support local communities. In other cases, they have been unsympathetic to traditional land access privileges enjoyed by Scots, instituting measures to restrict public use of the land. According to gamekeepers, some even protect their investment by fencing in large numbers of normally free roaming deer. The Glen Feshie estate has been subjected to a series of owners who, in geographer Charles Warren's words, "have run roughshod over the land". It is not in good stead with SNH due to its deer management that has lead to an over population of deer and the subsequent depletion of Caledonian pine. It was most recently traded on the international market (personal communication, C. Warren). But with respect to outside owners, a serious issue with land reformers, a local veterinarian insists, "we need the outside buyers and the foreign capital that buys up large estates. No one locally can afford them; jobs would be lost if the estates were divided and they also have enough capital to make improvements " (personal

communication).

All told, the history of land ownership in the Highlands is implicit in the area's ongoing human relationships. In land reform advocate R. Greer's view, the feudal system of land ownership may be credited with maintaining a hierarchical social structure (personal communication). Others would argue that in today's world the class lines are blurred by social mobility (Carter 1979:5). Still others, like this estate factor, would say the differences are exaggerated. "A minority have had a bad experience with the toffs who like shooting things and being superior. They are the idiots from the tweed brigade. We're folk up against very real obstacles" (personal communication). Based on the following one can assume that a feudal mentality is still the state of mind for residents in some communities. The factor explained further:

> *The Duke's half-sister is from away and very open-minded. I get the impression they like the fact things are changing because they are allowed to speak up, but on the other hand they feel they are losing someone to blame if it rains. We are trying to put together a new partnership, more focussed on working together. Some folks are ready to jump in but others are still suspicions. It would be irresponsible to go into Blair Atholl and say 'Okay you are on you own now,' it would be irresponsible parenting. They have a learned helplessness. If you shout demands you only move at half the pace.*

A tenant farmer on Atholl Estate differentiated between how people living in the village of Blair Atholl relate to feudalism compared with those on the estate:

> *Feudalism is a learned silence, submissiveness. As for land use, the villagers have no affinity with the sporting estates. The villagers are totally different from the rural folk. The village folk are very sedentary. There is psychological feudalism: a perception that there is a local authority that carries all the responsibility, it is devolution of responsibility. The village folks never go into the hills – that's for the gentry.*

A tenant farmer in Finzean did not differentiate- and considered himself part of a tight community subject to a long history of feudalism, with positive outcomes:

> *Finzean is very feudal; there is not much here that is not owned by the Farqusons. It is a stable community - for years no land has changed hands. It*

> *is difficult to get into this community. The Birse Trust bought 5 acres of forest, which makes it the second largest landowner in the area. Some community members have roots that go back over 300 years. The laird builds schools, puts washrooms in houses, and looks after the people. This is a good community with solidarity and it is active.*

Conversely, a resident of Kirriemuir told me of the local landowner who "recently evicted his tenants so he could build a caravan park with grant money from the EU, then he opened up the estate for shooting."

Land reform introduced in 2002 legislates for enhanced opportunities for community purchase of lands. The sentiment surrounding this is often one of righting historical wrongs and breaking down the class barriers. But only a small number of communities have purchased adjacent lands from private estates because, as Charles Warren points out, "Highland estates are not money-spinners; they are money drainers. Under the new land reform, for the most part, communities will not want to buy them; they cost a fortune to keep up" (personal communication). Emphasizing the advantages of keeping estates intact rather than condemning them as remnants of feudalism, an estate factor suggested that:

> *Moving forward is difficult. People's perception needs to change. If only the government could see estates as a vehicle to be used, we are the best Trojan horses to introduce change. We are someone they can trust saying yes, get on your own two feet. It takes a lot of work – we have 360 houses, you meet with everyone at least once a year. We are trying very hard to persuade people that we're here, we are accountable and that we have problems too. That relationship is vital. We are not saying we are infallible; we just want to be accountable. Unfortunately, unless people change their attitude, it will be changed for them.*

Conclusion

With respect to getting on your own two feet, a workshop on how communities in the Cairngorms would become productively involved with the management of the national park was staged in Kingussie. The over 100 participants

were asked to split into groups and discuss their potential contributions. I was assigned the task of scribe for our group, which included a farmer, gamekeeper, ranger, laird, local business operators and private entrepreneurs. They decided that creating ideal community-improvement projects first meant taking stock of local needs and local resources. The main points were:

- Local resources include infrastructure, landscape and local expertise
- Analyse local expertise:

  What expertise is available and what is not?

  Can the expertise be accessed?

  Can it be retained?
- With this information in mind, what services can be provided locally, what local needs can be met locally and what unique commercial opportunities are available?
- Learn from the Birse Community Trust [50] approach and pay for work performed, thereby realizing economic and social benefits.

The National Park Authority could act as a resource by performing a coordinator's role, linking communities with similar projects. They could also provide advice regarding grant funding, technical support agencies and certain legalities (i.e. VAT, registration, charitable status).

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[50] Birse Community Trust was formed to manage the forest near the community of Birse.

CHAPTER 9: AGENDAS AND VOICES

The cultural and historical contexts whereby permanent residents, scientists, conservationists and bureaucrats are 'at home' in the Cairngorms differ a good deal from the contexts experienced by their counterparts in Banff. Most notably, permanent residents comprise a genuinely indigenous population whose presence is unconnected with activities directly or indirectly related to a park. Also, in the next chapter we shall see, in connection with the creation of the park, governmental processes are strongly felt with respect to Cairngorms park management. For all this the agendas and voices of these several agents remain in many ways remarkably similar to those encountered and heard in Banff. The present chapter brings this out.

Permanent Residents: The Experiential Voice and Its Disempowerment

The Highlands are a human-created landscape that supports livelihoods and the reproduction of social relations. From the permanent resident's viewpoint, a landscape is more than terrain broken by settlements, divided into named tracts of land and settlement sites, it is experienced as structured by history and practice. Relevant to this, Hirsch examines the relationship between insiders, outsiders and landscapes. He states "Raymond Williams has been much cited as pointing out that it is 'outsiders' – estate owners, improvers, industrialists, artists – who have recourse to the notion of landscape. Not those who actually live in the area in question" (Hirsch 1995: 13). He is critical of Williams:

> Williams sharp distinction between insiders who live their landscape and outsiders who entertain an objectified concept of it is difficult to sustain with this implication that the first are rooted in nature, while the second have an

understanding based exclusively on commercial possession, values it savours or romanticism. Like 'place' and 'space,' notions of inside and outside are not mutually exclusive and depend upon cultural and historical context (Hirsch 1995: 13).

As in Banff, Cairngorms permanent residents, notably when 'outsiders' contest their right to make a living from nature, certainly objectify an idea of landscape, upholding a notion that those who experience nature in (long-term) practice merit certain privileges where the formation of policy about the landscape is concerned. But how residents see themselves in this context is complex. In Britain historic prejudices or myths about those who inhabit 'wilderness' still surface and people from 'civilized society' still look down upon those living in the 'wilds'. For the indigenous people of the Cairngorms area an identity as a 'local' thus incorporates negative symbolic capital; a pervasive feeling of disempowerment and exclusion results. Crucial here is a sense of victimization that undermines residents' confidence in speaking for themselves; silence is sometimes simply a matter of not feeling equal. Residents in the Cairngorms are proud of their enduring association with the landscape and are upset when their long-term management is criticised: "Are we doing a bad job and that is why we need the park" (personal communication, Finzean resident)? Jim Hunter's history, *The Other Side of Sorrow: Nature and People in the Scottish Highlands* provides some relevant historical facts. Regarding the Cairngorms indigenous population Walter Scott's swashbuckling clansmen and Patrick Seller's aborigines[51] are arguably the two sides of a single coin. Highlanders were fated if not to vanish from the earth then certainly to be extinguished as a culturally distinctive

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[51] A term he used to describe the Highlanders of Strathnaver. Sellers is remembered for his brutal treatment and removal of estate tenants in the early 1800s.

people. And even if the Highlanders were to disappear entirely, what then? What one person saw as a deserted countryside another saw as a thriving sheep farm. What saddened one with thoughts of what had been destroyed captivated others (tourists) by the sense of the lands once being home to a doomed race (Hunter 1995: 110).

An opening line from Hunter's book is "Everyone who ever mattered is dead and gone" (Hunter 1995: 5). I heard this expressed by a city dweller as, "Highlanders are all indigent – those with any get up and go have got up and gone." Highlanders' demeanour is often called dour. This is blamed on a history of exploitation and ill-treatment at the hands of outsiders. John McGrath's popular play *The Cheviot, the Stag and the Black Black Oil* (1981) depicts three phases of Highland exploitation, described by Hearn (2000: 82) as: the clearance of tenants for sheep for greater profit (the cheviot), transformation of Highland estates into sporting estates for the wealthy (the stag) (sometimes called the second clearances) and the impact on local economies and ways of life following the discovery of North Sea (black black) oil. The play portrays the story of a sturdy Highlander dispatched to Canada, speaking of a similar ill treatment of Indians in the American wilderness:

> We came, more and more of us, in the interests of a trade war between two lots of shareholders (the Hudson Bay Company and the Northwest Company) and in time the red Indians were reduced to the same state as our fathers after Culloden defeated, hunted, treated like the scum of the earth, their culture polluted and torn out with slow deliberation and their lands no longer their own. But still we came…the Highland exploitation a chain-reaction around the world. The plains were emptied of men and buffalo and the seeds of the next century's imperialist power were firmly planted. And at home, the word went around that over there, things were getting better (McGrath 1981: 29).

The image of Highland residents' image is also shaped by famous historical literature. Robert Louis Stevenson failed to challenge the way in which the Highlands were represented when, instead of a history of the Highlands, he wrote *Kidnapped* (1886), which supported the romantic vision of the hide-bound clan-based Highlander (Hunter 1995: 113). With little regard to the desperate state of the local people, tourism and the search for the idyllic Highlands became popular in the late 1880s, based on the 'outsider' view of the landscape and the corresponding social realities. Queen Victoria, at this time, frequently carried a copy of Walter Scott's *Lady of the Lake* (1810). She remarked on the quiet, romantic nature of the Highlands that prompted her to purchase Balmoral on the Deeside of the Cairngorms. She, and those from the south who followed her to the Highlands, were oblivious to the famine relief programs in place to keep crofting families alive. Instead, she wrote that "All seemed to breathe freedom and peace, and to make one forget the world and all its sad turmoil" (D. Duff, in Hunter 1995: 112). The cultural legacy in the Scottish Highlands, which emphasises a historical continuity between a certain type of person and the present-day long-term resident, sows seeds of conflict in contemporary Cairngorms communities. Here Hearn raises the question of the extent of Scottish egalitarianism and its claims to represent a fairer kind of society (Hearn 2000: 139-53).

For the permanent resident major cleavages among those who consider the highlands to be 'home' compromise its egalitarianism. As William McIlvanney put it, the most appropriate motto for a Scottish flag would be 'Hey - that's no fair!' In the Cairngorms context there are ongoing battles relating to the direction of policy with various agents invoking their 'superior' ethics, knowledge and discourse to weight the battle in their favour. Notably, permanent residents, their (positive)

symbolic capital relating to experiential practice over many generations, are pitted against 'incomers', whose symbolic capital rests in a certain discursive versatility stemming from a relative competence in 'speaking the language of' bureaucrats, scientists and conservationists. Locals feel that they are relatively less heard. Incomers are often at odds with long-term residents over development issues, by usually taking a stand against any intrusion to the landscape that they have chosen to occupy because of its natural attractions. 'Local' comments I have heard include: "There is a lack of history amongst the objectors – they are incomers." "She has only been here for half a dog-watch, what does she know about what is best for the rest of us?" "The incomers just walk in and take over." "They (incomers) think they know better than us."

During my review of the consultation process on the national park proposal, I was told to be wary of community members who were afraid to speak out against the laird. "There are those who won't put their head above the parapet for fear of having it lopped off, remember, 'hie wa flees lah flees lang'(he who flies low flies long)" (personal communication, Birse resident). I suspect that in the past there were times when this occurred but the political and social implications of speaking up/out are different from today. Bob Atiken, member of the National Park Authority for Loch Lomonds and the Trossach National Park and experienced trail builder in the Highlands, returns to the cultural dimension here: 'This is an endemic problem of Scottish local communities, that they're often dominated by articulate and assertive professional incomers, because the true locals were brought up in the old Scottish school of "children should be seen and not heard" or its adult equivalent, the 'tall poppies' or 'Ah kent his faither' syndrome, which cuts down to size anyone who gets above their station in life" (personal communication, Bob Aitken). Negative

symbolic capital in this regard is often all too clearly evident. A Community Councillor commented on his fellow councillors, "I'm the only local person, the only one with a local accent, the uneducated one. They don't want to hear the country yokel at the meeting. It stops people from speaking up." In fact, he is not the only local at the table but his sense is that he is excluded because of the symbolic associations of the way he speaks. Indeed, recognizing me as a stranger and a Canadian, people usually introduced themselves and offered their opinions as individuals or in small groups after the formal part of a consultation meeting was over. Only once did I sense that a local consensus was based on the laird's persuasion (though there was commonly a few who, taking the laird's line, made extra effort to make sure I knew 'what was going on'). The locals' relative public silence further divides communities when people claim that the silent majority is really on their side, but cannot prove it.

Of course, experiential knowledge of the landscape is not limited to long-term residents; it extends to others who are frequent 'users' of the areas. Conservationists are an obvious example. But there are ongoing differences between conservationists and long term residents even when they share similar interests and ideals. This manifests itself in a confrontational relationship with non-productive consequences. For example, the conservationist/local community split is not conducive to integrated park management. In a letter to the editor of the *Strathspey and Badenoch Herald*, June 12, 2003, a resident member of the National Park Authority states, in response to accusations from a well known local conservationist that the Chamber of Commerce did little to push for ideal planning powers in the name of better conservation:

> *In our own business a high portion of our staff comes from the ranks of conservation bodies, both statutory and voluntary. All of them share a passion for conservation and the environment that is second to none locally and it is always, therefore, doubly distressing when the so-called voices of conservation*

> *destroy the collective desire of others to finds ways forward and solutions to common problems.*

One notes the urban base of most of those who are non-long-term residents. John Rennie Short (1991) refers to Williams, *The Country and the City* (1975), when he notes that the urban versus rural construct bears the marks of power and contestation. As the head ranger on an estate told me,

> *When you get right down to it the national park is not appropriate. It's more about process. Ten years ago it would have been okay with John Muir's focus on protecting things, now it includes culture and must include biological and sociological processes. We are dealing with something else instead of the real problems. It is class war by other means.*

The class war to which he refers is evident in the actions and discourse of urbanites and conservationists who take a particular interest in the new national park. Thus the words 'land' and 'landscape' arguably belong to a particular class and have certain specific cultural connotations, amongst them a distinctive sense of place coupled with the view that the natural resources in the area have not been properly protected by the local people; that with a national park protection would be enhanced. Bestowing a politically and socially constructed designation on land for its special landscape and natural characteristics can therefore be socially explosive. Stigmatized as exploiters rather than stewards, residents take a defensive position, asking, "Is the park for us or for the outsiders and the tourists?" "Who are we protecting the park from?" "Will the park address our concerns? We don't need more tourist facilities in Aviemore, we need a wet weather centre and a school."

To sum it up, as noted by Charles Warren the controversy over the funicular railway "exemplifies two typical features of Scottish environmental controversies. One is the 'insider vs. outsider' friction. Locals are usually in favour of economic development while outsiders typically attach greater value to the environmental preservation. The second aspect is the polarisation that frequently occurs between

'developers' and 'conservationists' together with stereotyping of those groups. This broadens the gulf separating the two 'camps' greatly hindering conflict resolution and leaving little scope for a consensus-building approach" (Warren 1997: 39). From the standpoint of 'others' in a letter to the editor of the same paper (May 1, 2003) a member of the Ramblers registered a complaint that there are no representatives from the outdoor recreation sector on the NPA, thereby claiming, "There is no one to represent the interests of walkers, climbers, skiers, cyclists, horse riders etc." The author goes on to complain that there is no room for those living outside the Cairngorms on the NPA, "thereby satisfying local interests at the expense of any external viewpoint." To this author only those who are members of the Ramblers possess the correct knowledge and ethical perspective on how the land should be used; but of the 25 members on the authority many are avid hill walkers and skiers – this in spite of the comment earlier on how locals do not go to the hills.

Science and Scientists

The Cairngorms National Park present a different case on the matter of science compared to Banff National Park. The Cairngorms National Park Authority is very recently instigated and the park management plan has yet to be completed; hence in the Cairngorms a national park science policy has relatively less direct influence on day-to-day life. Instead, the relevance of science in the Cairngorms emerges in the numerous studies conducted over the years. For example, the Banchory Institute for Terrestrial Studies and the Macaulay Land Use Research Institute have long been active in the area. Government's recent focus on Local Biodiversity Action Plans (LLBAPs) also raises the call for scientific advice and analysis. As with Banff National Park, scientists make themselves 'at home' in the area through their research

activities, their role as advisors and sometime their advocacy; evidence of scientific knowledge in land use decisions puts that knowledge 'at home'. However between scientists and local residents there is a good deal of mistrust. Contestation between the two sides is manifest in terms of a mismatch between research based knowledge of the environment and experiential knowledge, as the following instances directly or indirectly (first instance) show.

Adam Watson is a distinguished scientist with a particular interest in the Cairngorms and considerable contempt for non-scientific method. Over the years he has monitored wildlife populations, climate change and other natural phenomena in the area; his other interests include local history and local cultures. Recognizing him as one of the great names in Scottish conservation, the biography that accompanied the announcement that he was recipient of the John Muir Trust Lifetime Achievement Award (www.jmt.org) noted his campaigns for conservation in the Cairngorms going back thirty years. In 1990 he retired as director of the Institute for Terrestrial Ecology, continuing to work as an Emeritus Scientist. Dr. Watson is also well published (fifteen 15 books, five hundred other publications and one-hundred-sixty technical reports mostly on scientific research) and frequently consulted by students and members of the public interested in natural history and the Cairngorms. His name is included in almost any conversation on the state of the environment in the area; young people claim to be informed and inspired by him (personal communication, SNH staff recruiter).

Adam Watson describes himself as a hill walker, cross-country skier and mountaineer, naturalist and conservationist, and scientist; I have also seen him upheld as 'leader in environmentalism and expert on all things in the Cairngorms'. He is esteemed by individuals and organizations seeking information on the flora and fauna

of the Cairngorms. His influence has extended through the Scottish network of NGOs and government agencies, which have relied upon him to provide data on the area leading to protected designations, listing of species and monitoring. He could be considered a keeper of scientific knowledge. I met Dr. Watson on several occasions, usually at events focussing on the proposed national park for the Cairngorms. I requested an interview with Dr. Watson for two purposes:

1. He has strong views on the national park and on the manner in which the area has been managed up to now and he has not been shy to express his views in print. I take exception to some of what he says; however, it would be unethical on my part to exclude him as an informant on those grounds. It was also important to cover both sides of the debate over whether the national park should be created and, if so, then who should manage it and how it should be managed.
2. An academic colleague working in environmental history recently published his thesis as a book. The author did not interview Dr. Watson, though his thesis focussed on the Cairngorms and its social and natural history. The book was heavily criticized by members of the Scottish conservation movement. It seemed obvious to me that had Adam Watson been interviewed and treated with the reverence he expects, the criticism would have been muted. From an anthropological point of view, it was important to speak with Dr. Watson directly.

I telephoned his home in Crathes, and started to (re) introduce myself and give him some background on my research. The introduction was cut short by his response. He knew who I was and had already formed a very rigid opinion. His reply:

Yes, I know who you are, well it's a nice day, I'd rather be out doing my own research.

I replied*: Another time perhaps?*

> His reply*: I don't think so. You see, I don't approve of your approach to research. I know some people use it but as a researcher myself I don't approve of it. This business of running around and listening to people is too subjective. I know what proper research is. I'm an experienced researcher and I know what I am talking about – and I don't approve of your methods, its not what I call research; too subjective. So no, I am not interested and I'm not available.*

As someone who criticizes the lack of integrated decision-making in environmental matters, I was pleasantly surprised with Dr. Watson's comments. His obvious disregard for anthropological method and his evident contempt for the value of experiential knowledge presented me with more evidence of the division between social and natural scientists. As Geertz stated, "One of the most irritating things in my field is people who say you're not doing 'real science' if you don't come up with laws, thereby suggesting that they themselves have done so, without actually telling you what these laws are (Geertz 2000: 136). Experiential knowledge, which anthropologists gather through participation and through 'running around and listening to people' is simply not reducible to scientific laws.

Deer culling is a notably controversial matter in the Scottish Highlands and presents a clear case where scientists and local residents are in conflict. Environmental policy in the Cairngorms is strongly influenced by the Macaulay Land Use Research Institute, the official body providing scientific advice to the Scottish Executive. The Macaulay Institute, as it is more commonly referred to, was criticized by the biologists at the university I attended, who gave it the tag, 'science for sale – data to suit all agendas'. More significantly, other criticisms come from those who, like members of the Scottish Gamekeepers Association, are subject to the policy and strategic frameworks for management implemented on the basis of the Institute's scientific advice, for example by the Deer Commission for Scotland (DC for S) and the Forestry Commission. For its part the DC for S, in addition to scientific

knowledge, boasts such symbolic capital as the authority granted it by the Scottish Executive to design the deer management strategy, including the legislated right to fine estate managers who are not in compliance. There is also the social status of its members. While I was conducting fieldwork, the Board of Directors for the DC for S was made up from members who were directly affiliated with the Macaulay Institute and/or the Forestry Commission. According to the DC for S website, Dr. Andrew Raven, the chairman of the DC for S was Chairman of the Governing Body of the Macaulay Land Use Research Institute, and was a Forestry Commissioner. Professor John Milne, Vice-Chairman of the DC for S, was Deputy Director of the Macaulay Land Use Research Institute, Dr. Phillip Ratcliffe has spent his career since 1960 as a Research Forester with the Forestry Commission and, finally, Sir Michael Strang Steel was a Forestry Commissioner from 1988-1999, then Chairman of the Forestry Commission's Advisory Panel.

The large population of red deer in the Cairngorms create significant problems for land managers. After the release of the DC of S Long Term Strategy in 2001, members of the Scottish Gamekeepers Association (SGA) raised concerns over the cull targets and the techniques being recommended to reach prescribed targets. On May 15, 2003, the Scottish Executive's Cross Party Group on Animal Welfare called a meeting in response to a petition submitted by the SGA. Representatives from the DC for S and the Forestry Commission were invited. As the Cross Party Group includes as well as members of the Scottish Parliament (MSPs) several non-parliamentary members, present were also representatives of Wild Aid, SNH, and the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. The SGA presented their petition and provided background to the circumstances of the deer cull in an attempt to gain intervention by Scottish Executive. As well as cull targets, the SGA in

particular were concerned about out of season shooting of hinds, deer fencing, lack of gamekeepers' knowledge reflected in decisions made by the DC for S and the need for regionally adapted strategies rather than blanket policy. Evoking his symbolic capital, experiential knowledge and professionalism, an SGA representative of the SGA pleaded that legitimacy and respect be allowed the gamekeepers' position:

> *We have the answers if people would listen but the problem is many of you come to Edinburgh for your answers. We are professional and we are the people who deliver the management plans. Gamekeepers have been managing Scotland's hills for centuries, and people come from all over the world to see the Scotland we have created. We cannot shoot our way out of this over-population problem, we need to manage our way out of it.*

The chairman of the DC for S responded that: a) they had tried to address the over-population problems with short and long-term strategies, b) they had looked at a variety of interests but in the end it is the Deer Commission who decides the management policy, c) they have a duty of bringing various interest groups together, not just gamekeepers but others as well, like the Forest Enterprise, d) they bear the responsibility of balancing costs and benefits, and e) they are the only ones who can issue permits for out of season hunting, which they are most willing to do in order to decrease the numbers.

Ministers questioned the changes that had been implemented by the DC for S including the policy on deer fencing. As the fencing displaces deer there is a need for compensatory culls. The fences are now being blamed for the death of birds, the capercaillie in particular. Forestry Commission employees were accused of shooting on Sundays, shooting at night, shooting from their vehicles and leaving carcases beside trails. One of the Forestry Commission representatives denied knowing anything about these accusations, which prompted an MSP to remind him and the others present that articles on these incidents had been appearing in the local newspapers for weeks. A remark was made that, "to the Forestry Commission the

only good deer is a dead deer." MSPs also questioned the data used to support decisions in the strategy and some expressed unhappiness with the targets set for the culls, in part because they were impossible for gamekeepers and regular staff to meet. There was a comment that, "These calculations were done in an office and the only responsible person on the ground is the stalker."

As the discussion ensued, it became clear that there was a division: members of the Deer and Forestry commissions vs. the SGA and members of the Cross Party Group. Respondents from the commissions spoke of respecting all parties, taking on board advice and seeking peaceful coexistence with the estates; but the MSPs were clearly suspicious of the Commission's platform and their data. The DC for S admitted that they did not write the strategy the way the SGA wanted but insisted the SGA had been consulted and that was all that was needed. This perhaps was their undoing as one of the final comments was, "We are miles apart and until you look at the problem you'll never get there - until you listen to the people on the ground." The DC for S Chairman defended his organization's position, stating that its experts were scientists for the Macaulay Institute who were subjected to unprecedented scrutiny. He considered that there were disagreements on the 'principles' of deer management. Notwithstanding the DC for S's symbolic capital (legislated authority to make decisions, enforcement capabilities, scientific knowledge and members' social status), the result of these discussions was that deer management, in particular cull targets, was placed back in the hands of the regional deer management groups. These are mostly comprised of gamekeepers and land managers, who inform the D C for S of their activities. In spite of this, the D Cof S recently undertook drastic measure to reduce the size of the red deer herd on Glenfeshie Estate, without first consulting the estate gamekeepers, the National Park Authority or (according to my

informants) the SGA. According to the brother of one of the Glenfeshie gamekeepers, "This goes against our way of life, our morals, our beliefs and our professionalism" (*The Scotsman* March 30, 2004). On March 30, 2004, The BBC also reported the incident, using the by-line, "Anger over deer cull slaughter. A cull of pregnant deer out of season has been condemned as 'indiscriminate slaughter' by gamekeepers and stalkers in the Cairngorms" (http://bbc.co.uk).

As noted earlier, interested parties often talk past each other, even without knowing it. People are rarely aware of the style of thinking or communicating they normally use (Terrell 2001:812). For example, the unconscious exchange of specialists' languages excludes those who are not familiar with their meanings. Cairngorms Residents who are not members of the science community frequently complained about this. The next example demonstrates this and also indicates how, where decision making is concerned, science focuses on substance (the facts) rather than process (how the decision making is done).

Realising that conservation without local support doesn't work, and on the heels of the Rio initiatives, Britain undertook the writing of Local Bio-diversity Action Plans (LBAPs). The Scottish approach with regard to this was intended to be more integrated than the English approach. The steering group for the LBAP in the Cairngorms had 17 members, including representatives from the five local authorities and from resource management agencies and organizations - SNH, the Scottish Environmental Protection Agency, RSPB, Scottish Executive Environment and Rural Affairs Department, National Farmers Union, Wildlife Trust and Scottish Water Authority. The Chair of the Steering Committee took the position that national and local priorities had to be met, but a top down approach would not be used. He described the LBAP to me as "conservation with bells. Ideally the plan presents

practical initiatives not just plans but real projects." He felt this could be accomplished in part by using language that was more inclusive and more accessible than typically appeared in scientifically supported land management policy.

Under LBAP auspices researchers conducted an audit of the resources in the area (25% of the UK list of priority species are in the Cairngorms) and considered a plan for conservation and the improvement of bio-diversity. The draft plan was presented at public meetings and seminars, and sent to residents via the mail. According to the Chair, "there was not a great response, probably due to consultation fatigue in this area." While he thought most people were happy with the plans, I heard otherwise. In particular people thought the language was too complicated and the plan was too long. The Cairngorms Rothiemurchus and Glenmore Group, who had completed their own biodiversity audit, were seen by the LBAP Steering Committee to be very aggressive and not playing the game in that they took control of their own consultation, determining when they would be consulted and setting their own timelines for responses. Other community organizations simply did not respond. The Chair of the Steering Committee felt they had done their best at making the documents available and offering opportunities for community input. The Cairngorms Community Councils Group appointed a member tasked with reviewing the LBAP. His response was as follows:

> *The LBAP was written by only a few people but it is now the reference point. When it was presented we told him (the Chairman) to take it back, redraft it into readable language and pick a more practical time scale. They dropped it through Community Councils who are unpaid volunteers, they can tick off the box that they have consulted the communities but in fact they have not. Genuinely consulting with locals does not fit in the time frame, and local people need to be trained and familiarised with the language and the planning process, so is it 'not knowing' or is it 'time scales?'*

The Chairman's well-meaning efforts to undertake an interdisciplinary and 'local' approach to research encountered other (predictable) difficulties. Local

knowledge, being experiential knowledge is inevitably contextualized knowledge; however, as noted by Nowotny, Scott and Gibbons, most scientists "would be reluctant to admit that the more highly contextualized the knowledge the more reliable it is…it goes against the principles of scientific reliability" (Nowotny et al 2001: 168). Aware of the importance of local bio-diversity, a farmer who recognized he had a rare breed of bee residing in his pasture offered to assist with the research and monitoring of the bee. The Chair of the LBAP Steering Committee recounted the struggle to get funding for the farmer who was neither an accredited scientist nor an academic. Instead an emeritus professor from Edinburgh was awarded the funding; unfortunately he was not interested in enlisting the farmer's assistance.

In the Cairngorms, science along with charismatic mega fauna is used as leverage to impose restrictions on the public use of certain areas. This final example is a brief account of a recent incident involving capercaillie, an icon of Scotland. Scientists and advocates have expressed serious concerns for the future of this bird in Scotland, claiming that declining numbers are due to predators and human interference. An article in the *Scotsman* (May 1, 2003) illustrates its utility to the area. Entitled "Caper watch big hit with tourists," the article states:

> The capercaillie-watch at the Loch Garten Osprey Centre is continuing to grow in popularity with twitchers travelling the length of Britain to see one of the world's most endangered birds. I have heard of several B&B businesses in the area that have been quite busy throughout April with bird-watcher guests here to attend Caper-watch, which is an all important early-season boost for them.

As announced on June 25, 2003, in the *Strathspey and Badenoch Herald*: "A £156,000 project to make Aviemore one of Scotland's leading mountain bike centres has been scuppered because one of Britain's rarest birds has been found at the proposed site." The report goes on to relate how the land owner, Forest Enterprise, pulled out of a plan to create the 20 km track when one female capercaillie was found

at the north end of the 400 hectare site in Glenmore Forest. Plans at a previously selected site were cancelled due to similar concerns. SNH and the RSPB had been confident that Glenmore forest would prove a more suitable site, based on their own high-level environmental assessment. The EU, Moray and Badenoch Enterprise, and Forest Enterprise were due to fund the scheme in an area desperate for additional recreation income. However, as a spokesperson for the Forestry Commission stated, "The national park requires that the precautionary principle be considered, and in this case the presence of a breeding female of a species which has undergone 95% decline over the past two decades is a clear case for its application (*Strathspey and Badenoch Herald* June 26, 2003). The news prompted negative responses from local businesses, residents and MSPs. The following are excerpts from letters to the editor of the *Strathspey and Badenoch Herald* (July 3, 2003 and July 10, 2003). The authors are residents.

> *I suspect that there is more political expediency involved in this decision than any clear scientific procedure. It is arguable that a hardnosed businessman may do more to save caper from extinction than an overly cautious environmental scientist with not enough experience in the field.*

One writer goes on to reiterate the various local theories on the decline of the caper – climate change, loss of habitat, deer fences, predation or human disturbance.

> *A large part of the capercaillie crisis has been caused by experts who have made the pine marten and badgers protected species. I believe the pine marten is annihilating many ground nesting birds. Perhaps those responsible for conservation should take their heads out of the sand.*

Countering the notion that humans should be removed from landscape occupied by 'endangered' species, another writer points out that:

> *A certain amount of human presence is not a bad thing for caper. Why is it that one of the highest recorded concentrations of capers is in Grantown woods? (a popular recreation area adjacent to the village of Grantown-on-Spey) I would suggest that the predators are being deterred by those taking recreation in the woods.*

This last excerpt references a situation similar to that at the Lake Louise ski hill involving sow bears and cubs. With experiential knowledge trumping scientific knowledge, similar theories on the decline of the caper were addressed to me, on numerous occasions, by gamekeepers, conservationists and farmers.

Conservation and Conservationists

As conservation is perhaps the most important rationale of national parks, the expectation is that conservationists should play a value added role in park management. On many occasions this expectation is met and acknowledged by the other parties engaged in national park affairs. In the Cairngorms, good conservation work has been done prior to and since park designation; for example forest regeneration at Newtonmore. On a grand scale, conservationists claim the position of public conscience. But in local areas conservationists and residents can be at loggerheads. Very real repercussions result from differing views on how the landscape should be managed, rooted in differing sentiments on place. Thus there are those who view the Highlands as private property, envisaged in terms of income and employment generated by the traditional land uses of farming, fishing and forestry, and those ideologically committed to the view of the Highlands as heritage, a place for recreation and preservation for public benefit (Smout 1990:5) and who work politically in relation to this end. As stated by Bob Aitken during his presentation to national park representatives attending a conference at Mar Lodge (spring, 2003), "Locals look to the valleys, conservationists look to the mountains."

Historically, Scotland has lagged behind the rest of Britain in popular interest in nature and scenic conservation. The environmental historian T.C. (Chris) Smout attributes this to the absence of writers or campaigns in Scotland similar to those in

19th century England (Smout 1990: 13). Academic interest slowly evolved and in 1920 James Ritchie produced the first academic publication on Scottish ecology.[52] Also, early development in the Highlands clearly neglected conservation principles. During the inter-war years, forestry and light industry were introduced to assist the rural economy. The first schemes for light industry, in particular hydroelectric projects, were environmental and social disasters (MacLeod 1996: 337, Smout 1990: 16). The hydro project in Rannoch and Tummel was criticized for environmental damage and for failing to sell power to local industry; the tapping of hydro resources led to 'civil war' between neighbouring Highland local authorities (Smout 1990: 17). To be sure, between 1929 and 1941 proposals including the flooding of Glen Affric were rejected in the London parliament in spite of general support from Scottish MPs. The rejection was around the need to recognize the environment as an economic asset (tourism), and to preserve the spiritual heritage of the Highlands. But, as noted by Smout (1990: 18), nothing was said in the parliamentary debates about ecology or wildlife; the heritage focus was squarely on scenery.

There is a theme that 'outsiders' have, from necessity, taken up the conservation torch in the Cairngorms. As noted by Macleod, "For centuries, people outside the Highlands have been trying to solve the 'Highland problem'. The new 'problem' is the 'deteriorating environment'" (Macleod 1996: 229). According to Smout, three post-romantic attitudes concerning the use of land, held by those living outside the Highlands, had notable conservationist implications:

a) The recreationist's attitude of land as an invigorating obstacle course, as something to ski down, climb up – thus originating the outdoor sporting

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[52] *The Influence of Man on Animal Life in Scotland* was published by the University of Aberdeen in 1920.

movement in the 1890s. This brought about the call for access and the right to roam.

b) The spiritualist's attitude of land as an unspoiled landscape that refreshes the spirit and which must be maintained in its entirety and contemplated for its tranquillity. Emerging in the 19th century this ideology had no influence on public policy but was used to effectively lobby for the creation of both the National Trust for Scotland in 1931 and of the Countryside Commission for Scotland in 1968 with its power to designate National Scenic Areas.

c) The nature conservationist's attitude of land as a refuge for plants, birds and animals worth preserving for their own sake. This attitude was responsible for the creation of the Scottish chapter of the RSPB in 1904, which has attracted over 40,000 Scottish members. But this compares with 250,000 members of the National Trust of Scotland indicating the preference for scenic and historic conservation over nature conservation alone (Smout 1990: 25-26).

In spite of Scotland's perceived slow start in conservation, Cairngorms now has 23 sites protected under international legislation, 64 under national legislation and a further 30 under regional legislation, the latest and potentially most significant national site being the national park. However, present-day Scottish conservationists continue to maintain that local enthusiasm is slow to take hold. Mike Matthew, a former regional officer for SNH, is concerned that despite the growing influence of volunteer conservation bodies, local support for conservation is still patchy. He sees the development of environmental education at all levels as encouraging and suggests it will provide long-term benefits by "conditioning public perceptions and raising awareness" (Matthew 2002:182). For their part, the coalition of conservationists behind The *Cairngorms Campaign Manifesto* (1997) believes, according to Adam

Watson's preface, "that the voluntary bodies are the wider public's only hope for fundamental progress."

Many would say a consistent approach to conservation management in the Cairngorms has been absent due to the great diversity of organizations who have controlling interests and functions (Gimingham 2002a: 3). These include regional and local authorities, Highlands and Islands Enterprise, private landowners, corporate and public land owners, government granting organizations, development companies, volunteer conservation bodies, community organizations, Cairngorms Partnership and, with the introduction of the national park, nation-wide ownership and expectations for input into management. Martin Price, Director of the Centre for Mountain Studies (Perth) sees the national park as one way of achieving some consistency, yet he warns:

> *The Cairngorms is such a huge area with so many different identities, people do not feel part of the same thing. These differences are reinforced administratively – for example the Highlands and Islands Enterprise. To make this work as a national park you need a coherent identity* (personal communication).

Professor Emeritus Charles Gimingham, respected ecologist, states in a similar vein that, "for it (the national park) to be successful, a very clear perception is needed of why it is such a special place and what the park should hope to achieve." What it needs is "integrated management for the benefit not only of the environment but also of local residents and visitors" (Gimingham 2003). He then switches tone to criticize the lack of any sort of integrated management, the extensive destruction of the native forests, and subsequent reduction in diversity that continues from historical times to present, the concentrated land use that replaces diversity with uniformity, and the perpetual overgrazing by sheep and deer. He cites the degradation of the hills created in the interests of estate management that has lead to treeless moors and scars on the

hillside. He states that:

> Decisions made in the absence of an agreed strategy have often taken little account of environmental conservation and ignored the fact that in the Cairngorms much of the natural heritage is too valuable for damage or loss to be affordable. Development control has been in the hands of several local councils rather than a single authority and as a result they have tended to be ineffective in resolving disputes. It has been evident to visitors from abroad that little attention has been paid to ecological principles and that this magnificent region has lacked sufficient protection (Gimingham 2003).

However returning to a more inclusive approach he notes that the park will need to secure the goodwill of the local communities while promoting national interest. Parks planning must be based on ecological principles if it is to secure the ecological health of the area for future generations. Gimingham believes this can only be achieved "if the needs of those who live in the area and manage the land as well as those who visit for refreshment and enjoyment are satisfied without jeopardizing its future" (Gimingham 2003). So while he tells us that the skill to manage the area is lacking locally, the evidence being in the state of the environment, he is aware of the political correctness of raising the profile of community concerns.

For local landowners and farmers, mass sport and recreation may represent trespass but are at least seen to provide jobs that do not interfere with traditional land use. Scenic appreciation is less welcome when it restricts development in National Scenic Areas and leads to restrictive forestry and fishing policies. But nature appreciation is the least popular. SSSIs designated under the Wildlife and Countryside Act by the Nature Conservancy Council lead to the rights of landowners, farmers and foresters being substantially compromised. Charles Jedrej and Mark

Nutall fear that conservation designations ignore local knowledge and human experience important for a sense of community and identity in the Highlands. Crofting, in particular, needs its own conservation policy, one based on working the land rather than fencing it off as a heritage site and allowing it to fall into disuse (Jedrej and Nuttall 1996:139).

Conservationists in the Cairngorms tend to set themselves against long-term residents, discounting the latter's ability to manage the area 'properly'. This conflict can be linked to a romantic notion of what the natural state of the Cairngorms should be, along with warnings about environmental degradation. Both prompt a reaction in outsiders that the area can and must be returned to its natural state. This is obviously their (the outsiders') responsibility as those living in the area are surely to blame for its threatened state. While history shows that by the 1600s less than one tenth of the original tree-cover in the Highlands remained and by the end of the 1800s numerous animal species had been hunted to extinction, some conservationists persist with a vision of the Cairngorms as a pristine wilderness. In the 1950s, Frank Fraser Darling, a Highland based ecologist, considered convincing the public that the Highlands were not in natural condition to be his biggest challenge. [53] Locals, like this Community Councillor from Aviemore, share his frustration: "We have conservationists telling us that this area has to be returned to its natural state but no one knows what that is" (personal communication). A resident from Braemar takes the point further:

> *Conservationists don't live here, they pull up in their Land Rovers, preach and leave, but they wield an enormous amount of power. They think folks in the communities are hicks from the sticks. They think they know all about the countryside, but it is from books, there is no first hand experience. This has always been a densely populated area. They are saying they want a natural*

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[53] During the 1950s, Fraser Darling went on to become a great influence in environmental circles – in North America and Africa. As his suggestions fell on deaf ears in Edinburgh, he is considered "another resource lost to the colonies and more cause for disappointment in the Highlands" (Macleod 1996: 339).

> *landscape but it must be this and it must be that. Most of them wouldn't know wilderness if it hit them in the face* (personal communication)..

One of the most prominent conservation bodies in the Cairngorms is the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds (RSPB). It is a highly successful fundraising group (Yearly 1993:67) and very effective in influencing government spending on conservation issues. Their influence is felt by most rural managers, be they farmers, gamekeepers, land owners or recreation providers. A conversation amongst local residents regarding the RSPB is almost always charged with satirical criticism. The power of the RSPB in influencing land management practices, with sometimes illogical results, raise, the level of cynicism. Following the purchase of Abernethy Forest in 1988, the RSPB's first action as a new landowner was to expel the sheep from the hills to make room for more birds. This along other related activities have made them unpopular with local communities (Vandesteeg 2001). A recent initiative to remove deer fences prompted the following response from a Head Ranger:

> *First they pay us to put up the fences, then they decide it should come down because of the caper - so now they are paying us to take it down. But before that they told us to make the fences more visible so they paid us to pay folks to get out there and do that (this meant stringing bright collared ribbon through the fence). They tell us to take the cows off the hill because it's no good for the birds then they tell us to put the cows back on because they need the cows for the dung and because they need to keep the grasses down.*

Conservation experts, describing the Cairngorms in less than attractive terms and making dire predictions for its future, have, for years, exercised a large degree of influence over outsider opinion and policy making relating to the area. In 1955, Darling referred to the Highlands as 'a wet desert', describing the area as:

> ...one of steadily accelerating deforestation followed by forms of land usage that prevent regeneration, reducing the land to the crude values and expressions of its solid geological composition. Devastation has not quite reached its uttermost length, but it is quite certain that present trends in land

> use will lead to it; and the country will then be rather less productive than Baffin Island (Darling 1555: 192).

In recent years, Adam Watson, Drennan Watson, E.W. Matthews, Kai Curry Lindahl and many other well-known conservationists have written in similar language. According to Drennan Watson, "The Cairngorms are a story of a slow disaster leading to the degradation of possibly the most valuable nature and recreational resource in Britain" (Watson 1990:103). He blames this on the dominance of short-term interests of landowners over the long-term public interest. Kai Curry-Lindahl, former Senior Advisor to the United Nations Environment Program, provided a now much-quoted statement:

> That the Cairngorms Reserve (NNR) was established for the specific purposes of conserving its native woodlands and mountain habitats makes the devastation of the area over the last twenty years almost incredible. In fact the problems that press upon the Cairngorms are manifold and may turn out to be fatal for the long-term conservation and evolution of the reserve to a natural state (Curry-Lindahl 1998: 110-111).

Reflecting conservationists global as opposed to local perspective, a main theme in the *Cairngorms Campaign Manifesto* is the attainment of World Heritage Site status for the area. "The Cairngorms Campaign believes that attainment and (subsequent) maintenance of the World Heritage listing is the key indicator of (conservation) success" (Cairngorms Campaign 2000). In this vein, the national park should be managed in a manner which would qualify it for IUCN status, necessitating

that the 'precautionary principle'[54] be paramount in all decision making affecting the state of the environment. LINK, the umbrella organization for Scotland's conservation groups, filed a parliamentary petition seeking the inclusion of the Cairngorms on the list of nominees for World Heritage Site status. While this was unsuccessful, I have no doubt efforts will continue. Petitions were also filed for a review of the proposed planning powers for the park, which were also unsuccessful. In keeping with a parliamentary process, conservationists lobby MSPs, in particular the Green MSP Robin Harper. He and others are invited for walks in the hills where, as one member of LINK put it, "We get them alone for a couple hours and build up some type of rapport. We can make them see things the way they really are."

The Ramblers, Cairngorms Campaign and the Mountaineering Council for Scotland, all members of LINK, were closely involved with national park designation process. However, during consultation on the national park, very few conservationists attended the meetings held in local communities. They responded directly via organization letterhead to the Scottish Executive or SNH. In my view this symbolized their contempt for the area's permanent residents. Much scepticism about the proposed park was expressed at a special meeting staged in Aberdeen by the Cairngorms Club, and attended by nearly 40 Scottish conservationists. Attendees repeatedly raised one point in particular: "You have not spelled out what is wrong with the area that we need a national park. You need to say this is what's wrong and how do we put it right. Identify the areas that need to be protected." Other strong comments included: "The consultation document does not attempt to analyze what has gone wrong with the existing system...and what the current problems are that could

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[54] Sometimes referred to as the Sandford Principle, this entails erring on the side of caution with respect to decision.

be addressed and remedied by the introduction of a national park." "The core mountain is sacrosanct and should not be included with a dump like Aviemore. It is the mountains we need to protect." "The central core is the jewel that needs to be protected; the larger zone serves as a buffer. We are shocked to see that the inner zone includes communities like Aviemore, Kincraig and Boat of Garten. This impinges on planning." It was even suggested by one member of the audience that: "To serve its purpose properly, a national park should be void of people." With respect to a park authority without absolute planning powers, a conservationist and author of several books on the Cairngorms had this to say:

> *National interests must take precedence over local interests. The MSPs are listening to the local grumbles, and yes men will be put in as board members. You muzzle the organization by putting in senior managers with no expertise, just like SNH. If we can get through to Sam Galbraith who is a mountaineer* (and the Minister responsible for the national park initiative) *then we can shut this down.*

Throughout the designation process, conservationists used print media to challenge the motives, purpose and model for the national park. In letters to the editor of *The Scotsman*, environmentalists like Adam Watson term the national park "an expensive farce", stating that the Labour Minister gave Scotland one of the world's worst national parks – creating a farce that doesn't deserve the title national park. He goes on to criticise the planning powers and the gerrymandering that created the boundary. He concludes, "World Heritage is a pipedream until Ministers respect the public interests and disregard parochial party politics" (September 8, 2003). In an earlier article he called the park 'a laughing stock' and criticised the Scottish Executive for enhancing parochialism as nobody on the board (National Parks Authority) has international credibility. Jim Crumely, another author active in the environmental movement, also expressed disappointment with the national park: "You see, nothing I have heard so far from anyone involved with this national park

convinces me that the required vision exists within the park to address such abstract ideas as assisting the cause of the wilderness, for it wins no votes, it makes no money and it doesn't even say thank you" (*Dundee Courier and Advertiser*, September 9, 2003). In weekly articles in the *Strathspey and Badenoch Herald*, the conservationist Cameron McNeish, likewise raises his concerns over the future of the national park. In one article he encouraged fellow conservationists to hold the line and not to allow compromise in the face of popular developments in the area. As with many advocates for Scotland's national parks he evokes John Muir as the indubitable voice of conservation: "John Muir himself owes much of his environmental success to hanging on firmly to what he believed in" (May 22, 2003). He goes on in the same article to reference his friend Jim Crumley who "describes compromise as the holiest of bureaucratic grails and he believes it is compromise that has given the Cairngorms what it is now – insidious dereliction." He concludes the article by reiterating that the Cairngorms needs cures, not compromise, insinuating that the proposed model for the national park would be just that.

The scenario of the 'us versus them'/'communities versus conservationists' surfaces in many contexts, including divisions within local communities. At the hub of the Badenoch and Strathspey conservation movement is a group often referred to long term residents as the 'Newtonmore Mafia'. The leaders are incomers and professionals; they hold or have held senior positions with volunteer conservation bodies. During a site visit, included as part of an international conference on national parks, members of the Laggan community invited us to tea and gave a presentation. They focused on the difficulties of convincing outsiders that they were responsible land managers and should be given the right to make a meaningful contribution to the running of the national park. As described by our hosts, much of

this difficulty was attributed to the 'Mafia':

> *It's the representatives of the organizations living in the communities who make derogatory remarks and instill a lack of confidence in the communities. We need respect from the outside organizations. The image being created is detrimental to community and to outside environmentalists, therefore there is distrust and suspicion.*
>
> *These guys write to the newspapers and the papers play up the controversy. Local communities are seen as being against conservation.*

On another occasion during a familiarization tour of the new national park two community councillors made the following comments to an international audience:

> First Councillor: *It is us versus them, us is the residents and them is LINK. They think that local farmers and residents are too ignorant to manage a national park – there is too much at risk to leave it to us. Instead of apathy and hostility we need engagement and respect. We need respect from the outside NGOs.*
>
> Second Councillor: *The local community is seen as being against conservation and the (news) papers play up the controversy.*
>
> First Councillor: *It's the representatives of the organizations (NGOs) living in the communities who make derogatory remarks and instil a lack of confidence in the communities.*
>
> Member of IUCN: *You need a united voice in the community. What have you done so far?*
>
> First Councillor: *I guess we have made some progress, empowerment starts because you are threatened, we're at the end of the road so have had to find our own solutions, and we've done things for ourselves. The community forest is running to keep local employment. As for future social economic and environmental benefits, well farmers know they can do things better, there is a more holistic view of sustaining community.*

John Grant, laird of Rothiemurchus, says that nature conservation interests are often see by local people as extremists and that the problem is that some such groups and individuals are apt to make 'over the top' remarks which all too often make it easy for non-conservation groups to discount them and those like them. This weakens the conservation argument. On the north side of the Cairngorms there is a complex relationship between nature conservation, building conservation, historical interest,

community interest, traditional land use and tourism and Grant does not think there is a valid argument for one interest to exclude another believing that all can be sensibly integrated. While this forms part of his argument against a national park it also serves to demonstrate, in his view, that conservation issues can be settled locally. "The challenge for people in conservation today is to persuade the majority of people in this country that it is worthwhile to spend their money on those matters we care about, and to present it so that those living on the land perceive conservation as being in their interest" (Grant 1999: 53-54).

Charles Gimingham thinks the conflict between communities and conservationists has been exaggerated. "Too much is made of the conflict between demands of conservation-orientated management and the interest of local communities, especially in respect of employment" (Gimingham 2002a:3). There are examples of mutual support, such as Mar Lodge Estate, currently under NTS ownership and employing up to 30 people in conservation. Local and regional environmental education forums that organize projects and local interpretive programs, farming and wildlife advisory groups, and countryside ranger training programs receive significant local support.

But the recent controversy over developments at the Cairngorms ski area provides evidence of the conflict Gimingham resists recognizing. Guided by HIE, outside investments amounting to approximately £16 million, produced the Cairn Gorm Railway; alluded to earlier this a funicular form of transportation that operates from a base station to a visitor centre near the high plateau. The railway is designed to withstand the high winds prevalent on the mountain that forced closure of the chairlift. The development proposal was subjected to the longest planning process in Scottish history. Conflicts and opposing views between the residents of nearby

Aviemore and conservationists were widely publicized. The planning process was overwhelmed with difficulties and negative public opinion that culminated in a court battle. Completed in time for the 2001 ski season, year-round use was projected at 250,000 visitors in 2002. According to the ranger at the ski area, the 2002 visitor target was met. The Cairngorm ski area won the 2002 Ski Industry Award for the 'most improved ski area in Europe.' The Cairn Gorm Railway is designated a National Heritage Site and is signposted accordingly. Locals support the funicular and the 75 year-round jobs it provides. There is an aggressive campaign locally to get more 'ordinary' tourists up the hill onto the plateau. However, this makes many people uncomfortable. "There is no environmental justification for mauling one of Scotland's most celebrated landscapes" (Patterson 2002: 132). To protect the fragile environment on the plateau, tourists are restricted from leaving the café and interpretive centre at the top terminal, except during the ski season. Hill walkers are excluded from using the railway, unless they leave their backpacks at the base station. This arrangement forms part of an agreement with the EU and was the condition upon which the funicular received final approval. Locals and frequent visitors who previously used a much less luxurious lift system to assist their access to the summit voice their disapproval of these restrictions 'enthusiastically'. Cameron McNeish, a resident of Newtonmore, broadcaster and author of several books on the outdoors, considers the funicular, supported with ongoing injections of public funds, to be Scotland's Millennium Dome. "However, unlike the millennium dome we can't get rid of it!" (personal communication, C. McNeish).

The next section in this chapter discusses the bureaucrats who are 'at home' in the national park. Bureaucracy and conservation interface when landowners and residents feel they are subject to the whim of big government and agencies where land

management regimes are concerned. A farmer living in Glen Fender related a story to me that held particular meaning for him: While visiting relatives in France he came across a sign that said "No to the bears and wolves. The true ecologists are those who work on the land not the technocrats in Paris." In the case of the Pyrenees it has to do with a decision to reintroduce bears and wolves into the farming communities within the national park. For the farmer in Glen Fender it brought home his relationship with the organizations that daily produce strategies and plans for the peoples and lands in the Cairngorms, notably Highlands and Island Enterprise, the Deer Commission of Scotland, Forest Enterprise, the RSPB, Cairngorms Partnership, SNH, the Scottish Executive's Environment and Rural Development Agency, National Trust for Scotland, and other numerous government committees and QUANGOs.

Bureaucracy and Bureaucrats

Formal management structures implicated in the lead up to, and following, park designation provide insights into the relationship between civil society and the bureaucracy in the Cairngorms. When it was proposed, one of the strongest criticisms of the new national park was the extra level of bureaucracy that it would create. This new level is the National Park Authority along with the senior staff hired to direct planning, visitor services, community engagement and other functions needed in a park plan. As noted earlier, one intention of the Cairngorms National Park was to implement integrated and cooperative management of the area, in other words, interdisciplinary and multi-level decision-making. As Tim Clark has pointed out: "Leaders who are explicitly skilled in interdisciplinary problem solving will be essential if humanity is to solve the species and ecosystem loss problem. Developing such leaders is one of the most vital and pressing challenges of our time" (2001: 9).

The National Park Authority (NPA), a partly elected, partly appointed body is granted powers as a Non-Departmental Public Body, that is it has a role in the process of national government but is not a government department or part of one, and accordingly operates to a greater or lesser extent at arm's length from government ministers.[55] As such, members of the NPA are collectively responsible for everything done in the name of the NPA, making them responsible for strategic direction, policies and proper and effective management of the national park; they are also responsible for failures in the context of this remit. As bureaucrats they must comply with a model code of conduct – which is approved by Ministers. The NPA is a type of corporate governance, accountable through the Minister to the (Scottish) Parliament. In turn ministers are responsible to parliament and the parliament is accountable to the electorate. Bureaucratic structures are notorious for their rigidity and their lack or responsiveness in relation to the moving circumstances of the general public; one cannot imagine that the NPA will be any different.

Candidates for positions in the park authority were rated on their knowledge of the Cairngorms and Cairngorms issues, of sustainable growth, of current initiatives (i.e. partnerships), and of the environment, and, also, for their communications skills. Such knowledge amounted to a measure of their suitability and personal symbolic capital. But compromises relating to their respective symbolic capital became evident once the members became bona fide bureaucrats. Some owed their position to their ability to speak out against authority in defence of their community, but they were now expected to 'toe the party line' and act as a collective body. At an early meeting they were reminded of their fiduciary duties to the NPA and Scottish Executive.

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[55] See "*A Guide to Public Bodies in Scotland*" www.scotland.gov.uk/government/publicbodies/guide.asp

Clearly the NPA cannot maintain control if it is seen to be internally divided; there must be an appearance of homogeneity. Local councillors on the NPA excuse themselves from the room when planning proposals from their area are being discussed. In spite of their diverse interests and backgrounds, I do see members working well together in a semblance of a roundtable approach. As well as local councillors, the park authority also includes estate rangers, farmers, educators, a consultant, an academic, a veterinarian and others elected or appointed to the board.

The NPA holds monthly public meetings. However the work behind the scenes far exceeds the two hours per week estimated by Scottish Executive in their call for candidates. Meetings are held in community halls throughout the park area; this may change once renovations to the office in Grantown are complete. Several members of the public attended the meeting in Laggan on November 7, 2003. The public does not engage in discussions with the members during the formal part of the three-stage meeting (finance, planning and general business) but there is an opportunity during the breaks. I did not get the sense that this opened the meeting up to lobbying. More, the public present were curious, particularly with respect to the call-in process for planning approval which reflect the National Park Authority's discretion over which planning proposals require their attention, based on the four aims for the national park. Proposals deemed relevant are 'called-in' from the local planning authorities for NPA review and approval. This function was also still a curiosity to the National Park Authority members. The Chairman tried to assure members that this was a "learning process, no one has ever done this (call-in on planning) before. We'll review our progress in another month and see what improvement we can make." Such planning applications varied from minor additions to homes, to interpretive signage on estates, to the expansion of the Ballater sewage

treatment plant. Some permits had already been issued by the regional planning authority; hence there was an apparent break down in the approval process. The Chair and other members of the NPA made it clear that it is still very early, getting things right will take some time and they will make some mistakes – be patient.

As to mistakes and other controversial matters, some have been revealed via headlines in the *Strathspey and Badenoch Herald*:

May 28, 2003: "Parks £2 million funding plea comes under fire." The NPA is accused of setting their sights too low; they assured the reporter they would need £3.5 million in 2004, £5 million in 2005 and £6 million in 2006. Monies are for the upgrading of the Grantown office, staffing costs of £500,000 and board members' meetings at £250,000.

July 3, 2003: "National park delays comment on A9 proposal. The NPA is waiting for completion of a road review as to their opinion on the development at Dalwhinne of a tourist information centre."

November 13, 2003: "Park authority plans caught in procedural row. The park authority is embroiled in a planning row with the Highland Council after failing to notify them of internal building works being carried out at their headquarters in Grantown." In other words, the NPA did not get proper planning approvals before commencing the £400,000 renovation to their office.

November 27, 2003: "Park proposes ban on wind farm plans: Large scale wind farms, hydroelectric schemes and other major renewable energy projects are to be banned from the Cairngorms national Park."

Other problems and controversies emerge in part because, as one National Park Authority member stated, "If you don't know the purpose (of the park) it's pretty hard to get it right." The lack of clear purpose opens the door to controversial

interpretations, as noted by Frederico Cheever in his analysis of controversies over national park management in the United States: "Interest groups are willing to exploit congressionally created ambiguity to further their goals" (Cheever 1997: 640). Also, adherence to the precautionary principle in decision-making, as prescribed in the National Parks Scotland (2000) Act, is problematic. In Lynda M. Warren's opinion, the precautionary principle must be used 'with caution'. Problems arise with respect to environmental legislation, for it calls upon non-scientists to interpret science, prompting either a super-critical response that questions the validity of the science or the acceptance of the science without challenge. The latter is the most likely scenario as it is often the only data provided with respect to an environmental project. This mix creates a circumstance where no one can agree upon what scientific knowledge means (Warren 2002: 95-110). The NPA also encounters difficulties from outside agencies who are still operating in a pre-national park manner. The Deer Commission of Scotland and Forestry Enterprise have not encouraged representations from the National Park Authority and hence will not necessarily appreciate the unique complexities that the NPA faces; yet the agencies will be expected to adopt planning strategies that correspond to the national park management plan. To date there is still little recognition or support by such agencies for the unique management structure in the national park.

Bureaucracy in the Cairngorms did not originate with the National Park Authority and much can be learned from bureaucratic processes and organizations present in the area before the national park (and continuing today). Some, including SNH, are QUANGOs. Generally speaking, QUANGOs do not inspire trust in the local population, and this certainly applies to SNH – it is often seen as the outsider that knows very little about the actual state of affairs in rural Scotland. Senior

officials within SNH will comment that they employ too few Scots. As expressed by one resident: "A friend did her survey work as a geographer, when she went to the door people would say 'Are you from SNH? No, then come away in'." SNH are instrumental in developing environmental strategies and often for funding various conservation initiatives. In 1985 SNH purchased Creag Meagaidh near Laggan. Their primary aim on this estate is to encourage forest regeneration. Deer management polices on Creag Meagaidh and those they fund on neighbouring estates have come under heavy criticism. Other conservation bodies heavily criticize them for their role in the installation of the funicular railway on the Cairn Gorm. While SNH did not fully support the development, they are seen not to have done enough to block it. Some environmentalists levy particularly harsh criticism on the organization's approaches to conservation and their lack of in-house expertise.

For my part I saw an organization of people who are often caught between conflicting opinions and ideologies, frequently delivering Scottish Executive's decisions in the face of local opposition. I would suggest that the SNH image improved significantly over the course of the national park designation process. Initially there was a view amongst the communities that SNH should not be the lone reporter (to Scottish Executive) in the process. They were seen to be carrying far too much power, and there was a sense that they could orchestrate the outcome to their favour, erring on the side of conservation. Instead, SNH was praised for their concerted efforts to engage local communities in the consultation process. This, together with their thorough evaluation of the area's natural resources against the criteria for the national park, garnered praise from communities, conservationists and Scottish ministers.

As to Forestry Enterprise, its activities relating to the control of deer

populations have sparked local controversy. Headlines in the May 2, 2002, edition of the *Strathspey and Badenoch Herald* (the Strathy) read: "Gruesome deer cull upsets forest users." The article goes on to describe the 'butchery' carried out by Forest Enterprise's 'contract killers' hired to deal with the growing deer numbers on Inshriach Estate. Incidents of hunting at night and shooting from vehicles parked on the public roads were cited. Carcasses, left uncollected, were encountered on public footpaths. A previous article in the same paper, entitled, "Anger voiced over one-off cull: wholesale slaughter targets deer and goats" (April 25, 2002) informed readers how the owner of Coingnafearn Estate, adjacent to the SNH property in the Mondliath Mountains, had been aggressively culling the native deer *and* goat population. SNH, under severe criticism for paying the estate £30 per carcass, stressed that along with the Deer Commission for Scotland, that they supported this action as a one-off cull. The factor for the estate claimed they had drastically reduced the numbers of deer to allow natural regeneration of the woodland.

Another QUANGO, the Cairngorms Partnership, was instrumental in attracting EU Leadership II funds for building community capacity. The Partnership's most recent bid was based on the involvement of local people in the build-up to the national park. In August 2002, the Partnership was interim manager of the National Park filling in the period between the park designation and the establishment of the park authority. There is considerable confidence in the Partnership's abilities, as expressed by Charles Warren:

> *Some would say that a national park is not the answer, that it is a distraction and another layer of bureaucracy that could be counter-productive. The Partnership worked and the dollars for the park could be money better spent on the initiative already in place under the Partnership* (personal communication)

And by the Chairman of Badenoch and Strathspey Enterprise:

The defining character of the Cairngorms is the empty middle with small communities around the outside and five local authorities of which the park forms a small part of the regional authority. The issues are very different on either side of the massif. This part of the Cairngorms is no longer the battleground is used to be, things got to the point where we said we can't carry on this way. The Cairngorm Partnership brought people together (personal communication).

Early in the national park designation process, the Cairngorms Community Councils Group (CCCG) published a manifesto stating their position on the role communities should play in the national park. A formal organization, recognized by central authorities, the Group placed emphasis on an open and inclusive approach to decision making. They also stressed that the park is as important for those who live and work in the areas as for those who will visit and therefore they should be called upon to offer informed advice on social and management issues. The manifesto raises the importance of fair play for all and that local people should not be disadvantaged, nor should their past, present and future roles in safeguarding the natural heritage be ignored (CCCG 2001). Members of the CCCG were directly involved with the public consultation process leading up to the *Draft Designation Order*. Considerable energies were spent on ensuring that as many people as possible were given a chance to comment on the national park proposal.

Also with its eye on local involvement, the Cairngorm, Rothiemurchus and Glenmore Group that draws in interested parties and agencies relating to the north-west area of the Cairngorms, tackled the question of, "What can we put in place that will meet the national park objectives and demands? We do not want an 'off the shelf' national park!" (CRAGG administrator L. Wedderburn). Members divided into groups and completed baseline audits on the topics they thought important, such as biodiversity, outdoor recreation, local history and housing. "This idea of joined-up thinking is new to some people and the concept of a strategy is still difficult for some

folks to grasp. Initially there was a lot of circling and getting know each other" (personal communication, Chairman, Badenoch and Strathspey Enterprise, N. Sutherland). But some members of CRAGG, representing the environmental movement, are critical of CRAGG. Environmentalists claim to promote what is best for everyone, but such altruism is lost with comments like: "We don't want the CRAGG area in the park until it is a centre of excellence. The CRAGG strategy lacks credibility and cannot make genuine progress. The conservation voice is not getting the credibility it deserves" (personal communication, LINK representative). The implication here is that the conservation agenda should supersede other agendas and until the area meets conservationists' approval it should not be in the park. Comments like this are perceived as arrogant and do little to bridge the gap between residents and conservationists in the Cairngorms. As it happens, the system does seem to be working: "We have people sitting around the table who a year ago wouldn't have spoken. It shows that twenty-six agencies can get together around the table and get something done" (personal communication, CRAGG member L. Mackenzie).

Inequality in this process does exist in that it is difficult to get cohesiveness when, in the Group, the professionals representing agencies are paid, while many of the local people representing their groups are volunteers. The professionals have the luxury of time and resources while the local people have to draw on their own resources. One member commented that, "I lose twenty-five quid every time I go to a meeting. You need to be self-employed, financially stable, have a fancy pension or someone is paying for you to be there" (personal communication, CRAGG member). CRAGG started as a local initiative to bring the community into policy making at a 'fundamental level'. The next step is to involve the community as a stakeholder

contributing to a strategy. The intention is for the National Park Authority to use the CRAGG plan as a reference prior to completing its first park management plan.

A chronic complaint amongst most of the constituent sectors I encountered was the persistent use of bureaucratic language in documents circulated for public review. In this regard, bureaucrats were accused of employing specialist rhetoric and 'exclusive' discourse to achieve other ends in the Cairngorms. A warning to bureaucrats: rhetoric can all too easily be recognized for what it is, a tool for persuasion that disguises realities. Roger Sidaway, author of numerous articles and a recently published book on environmental negotiation analysed the situation thus: "National park powers line up with the Highland Council, HIE, SNH and the Cairngorms Partnership as if in one balloon with the community realities on the outside. You need enough hot air to keep it up" (personal communication). Persuasion might be better achieved through lay-discourse, for bureaucrats are routinely accused of strategically excluding residents from decision and policy-making processes through the use of sophisticated language. This raises the level of suspicion, already inherent in any engagement with the bureaucracy. The fact is, where knowledge is conveyed using professional codes it is unavailable to lay individuals because the language is the monopoly of the few. As Giddens states:

> The esoteric aspects of expertise in modern systems has little or nothing to do with its ineffability, but depends on a combination of lengthy training and specialization – although no doubt experts quite often put up a front of jargon and ritual to protect claims of technical distinctiveness (Giddens 1991:30).

The consultation documents on the proposed national park were soundly criticised by residents and community facilitators throughout the Cairngorms:

> *No one seems to be able to tell us clearly what the park is supposed to do. What difference will it make to my family and me – all I hear is that Iraq*

doesn't have a park and we are the only other country that does not have a national park so for that reason we should have one.

They (SNH) *are toeing the party line. We're not sure what the pluses and minuses are, what difference it will make, they keep saying it is an opportunity – for everything!*

The consultation document puts people off – it was too long and difficult to read; not reader friendly. Perhaps that's why they (residents) did not attend the public meetings.

People here don't trust outsiders – and they don't figure they have a choice in whether or not they have a park, it has already been decided in Edinburgh by the bureaucrats.

The document was not explicit, that gives them (bureaucrats) more power. We can't challenge what we don't know, so now they can say we agreed.

The consultation document was too difficult to digest, you had to read between the lines and understand the bureau-speak to figure out what might be happening.

In spite of these criticisms, one cannot ignore the fact that the authors of the documents, SNH, went far and beyond the usual approach to consultation to reach as many residents as possible and to engage them in the process. They published several documents in varying lengths and detail, created a variety of methods for feedback and used local people to facilitate the process - all intended to reduce the criticism and public issues in inherent in public consultation. Notwithstanding the brickbats they have since received praise from numerous sectors for their efforts.

Local people's recent experience with bureaucratic language and process is by no means limited to SNH and the consultation on the national park proposal. Numerous other government and quasi-government agencies conduct ongoing research and consultation in the Cairngorms. These processes are often criticized in part for their intrusiveness but also for what is seen as a strategic move to once again eliminate meaningful participation from the communities. Thus informants responded negatively to the language and information presented in the Local Biodiversity Action

Plan. I heard the following from residents attending a workshop in Kingussie:

> *The language is for other scientists and bureaucrats. We need time to get through it. We can be effective but first we need to learn how to 'play the game'; for that you need training and time to 'get up to speed with the information'.*

> *Language in the plans hinders the process because it is too difficult to understand, so people just go along with it. If it needs interpretation then you are just calling in another consultant. It minimized the local knowledge in the plan.*

The point is, as noted by Giddens: "The knowledge incorporated in modern forms of expertise is in principle available to everyone, had they but the available resources, time and energy to acquire it" (1991:30). Similar comments were directed at the attempts of the Deer Commission of Scotland to engage with gamekeepers to review their strategy. As one gamekeeper put it:

> *We are working all day then are expected to participate in consultation in the evenings and we are supposed to read and understand the issues from the bureaucrats' perspective. We are not paid to sit at the table like the bureaucrats are.*

In this manner, experts and local elites, with their symbolic capital of coded and/or exclusive discourse, are seen to exclude ordinary people from local political processes. To redress the balance and regain a sense of agency, a former community councillor suggested that:

> *If you form a community forum it carries more weight than individuals – you learn how to play the game; it's not complicated and you don't need to be clever but you need to get some help and advice so you can influence as a group. Get used to dealing with the system, find out who to talk to, pick the individual who can help you, it's not about going to the top politician, find the bureaucrat who can help.*

As Herzfeld says: "restoring time and individuality to our analysis – the recognition of human agency - is the only viable defence against the reification of bureaucratic authority" (1992: 157). Reducing bureaucratic authority and moving to a more inclusive model for management is precisely what the decision-making structure for

the Cairngorms National Park is meant to do.

As outlined in the National Parks Scotland (2000) Act, and reiterated throughout the consultation period and lead-up to its designation, policy and decision-making in the Cairngorms National Park is intended to be part of a partnership/inclusive approach to protected area management. According to Ron Macdonald, a senior official with SNH, this involves a shift from substance (what should government be doing) to process (how should choices be made) (personal communication). The following from an Internet discussion on participation issues in protected areas is, I believe, in line with the situation in the Cairngorms:

> Participatory conservation is about control and incentives. Governments decide how much decision-making control (and power) they are willing to share with communities. Often governments are not willing to share very much control or open up decision-making to all stakeholders. Most protected area projects work with local committees that are existing village committees or parallel to them and these are often dominated by elites. The government decides the types of incentives that should be provided to communities to compensate them for loss of access to resources and to promote pro-conservation and sustainable management behaviours and attitudes. However, most protected area staff lack the resources to enforce community obligations. Some communities feel they are not adequately consulted or government does not respect their claim to resources. These communities want protected area projects to meet all kinds of community development needs (Christmas tree) even when the needs are totally disconnected from conservation objectives (http://vx.worldbank.org/cgi-bni/lyris.pl?enter+parks_particiaton).

With these observations in mind, one wonders about the situation with the Cairngorms National Park. The park legitimates itself according to utilitarian criteria, evoking political, social, economic and environmental capital. The first step towards consideration for communities is evidenced by the Parks fourth official aim: to promote sustainable economic and social development of the area's communities. When one reflects on the history of national parks (Chapter 3) steeped in exclusive models for management, this is a positive yet brave new step. As this Chapter and the next reveal, the Cairngorms is an area fraught with conflict. People possessing

different knowledge and competent in different discourse compete to influence decisions that have a daily impact on those living in the area and how the area is managed; livelihoods are affected. For some 'at home' in the park there is the sense that this special place must be managed so as to retain recreational, conservation and wilderness values that, for some, will serve to impress the global rather than the local audience. These values are juxtaposed against the day-to-day events/issues of natural resource management on a landscape shaped by those who have inhabited it for centuries. National parks in Scotland have been late in coming, perhaps due to the complex relationships of land ownership and land use, governance, and now, clearly, social expectations relating to management of a protected area. The history and process leading up to the designation of the Cairngorms National Parks is presented next.

CHAPTER 10: MAPPING A NATIONAL PARK

Introduction

In the Scottish context a national park is an area of land identified for environmental and conservation purposes being subject to publicly accountable management in respect of a wide range of social, economic and cultural activities. The Cairngorms landscape, linked to history and nationality, became a place of political significance when the Cairngorms National Park was officially designated September 1, 2003. Designating new national parks is complicated in democratic societies where multiple voices must be heard. Landscape is not passive but influences human activity and is changed by human activity – in many different ways those who use spaces make them meaningful places. In the Cairngorms the sense of place was well established before the moniker of national park was attached to the landscape. One might question whether there needed to be a national park in the area, a question repeated many times by area residents. National parks worldwide are created to protect the natural and cultural heritage. In the Cairngorms, almost three-quarters of the landowners have some form of nature conservation management plan in place for special habitats and species. These include informal agreements with Scottish Natural Heritage regarding Sites of Special Scientific Interest, National Nature Reserves, Special Protection Areas, Special Areas of Conservation, and management plans with grant schemes such as the Woodland Grant Scheme, Countryside Protection Scheme and Environmentally Sensitive Areas (Cairngorms Partnership 2000). With numerous landscape protection schemes already in existence, and an internationally recognized cultural heritage and highland identity, it would seem that a primary role of the national park was redundant. As all Scots enjoy the right to roam, public access to scenic landscape, another selling point for

national parks, was not an issue. But similarly to the situation in other countries creating new national parks, there were political benefits. At the very least, by protecting and presenting it as a national park, there was an opportunity to enhance the social/political utility of the area.

In its efforts to gain support for the national park, government promised benefits to suit all interested parties. In line with the political promises, the mandate in the National Parks Act (Scotland) 2000 importantly includes a fourth aim that is not usually included in national park mandates. While the first three aims mimic those of most other national parks throughout the world (conservation of cultural and natural heritage, sustainable use of natural resources and promote public understanding and enjoyment of the area), the fourth aim focuses on the social and economic well being of the residents within the national park. While this is certainly an improvement on the traditional national park model for exclusive management which in some cases includes the forced relocation of residents, there is still a gap in understanding between interested parties created by the lack of clear purpose for the national park. There is obvious conflict over how the land should be used. There is controversy and debate over planning powers and the park's boundaries.

This chapter focuses on contestation among various agents relating precisely to issues surrounding specifying the Cairngorms Park's boundaries and delimiting its planning powers. A first section provides relevant historical background relating to the coming into being of the Cairngorms park. The following two sections focus on the *Draft Designation Order*, the Scottish Executive's decision, following a round of extensive consultation, regarding boundary and planning organisation. The details of the *Draft Designation Order* aroused considerable controversy as also did the feebleness with which the Executive pursued consultation both immediately prior to

and following its publication before finally formally designating the park in the Scottish parliament. The first of these sections provides ethnography describing the controversy in general terms, the second focuses on particular events (meetings, lobbying, parliamentary debate) which the publication of the Draft sparked.

The Evolution of a National Park in the Cairngorms

Creating a national park in the Cairngorms has been a long and arduous task, fraught with resistance and challenges, described by Charles Warren, a well-known geographer and a frequent visitor to the Cairngorms, as a road, which to this point, has been long and tortuous (Warren 2002:211). In his introduction to *Nature Landscape and People Since the Second World War*, T.C. Smout addresses what he terms the gradual self-definition of national parks. He refers to the trial and error experiences of various government bodies and their reactions to changing recreation and conservation demands (Smout 2001: x) – map 6, in part, illustrates this. I hope to present an account that includes a sense of the expectation, suspicions, divisions, disappointments and manoeuvrings that eventually resulted in the designation of the Cairngorms National Park.

Charles Stewart promoted the idea of national parks in Scotland in 1904 in the journal *Nineteenth Century and After.* He stated that: "The government that has the courage and the spirit to undertake and carry through on this accomplishment will deserve and receive an ample mead of gratitude" (Stewart in Lambert 1998: 23). The notion of a national park in the Cairngorms surfaced in a 1928 edition of *The Scots Magazine*. This was prompted by Ernest A. Baker's view that absentee land ownership in the Highlands had created a private park, with public access limited to the fringes. He supported opening up the area as a pleasure ground for the urban

population of Britain, as no other area offered the charm and untouched solitude that could meet the purpose of a natural park like the Cairngorms. To ensure proper access, the area was to be nationalized, thereby becoming a 'useful' possession. Support and opposition from readers appeared regularly in *The Scots Magazine* for the next several months.

The first proposed boundaries for a Cairngorms National Park (called the Cairngorms National Domain) were drawn in 1928. The rivers Dee, Geldie, Feshie and Spey bound the area of 173,000 acres. Eight estates, in patriotic spirit, were expected to contribute lands to this national sanctuary. In September 1929, the Addison Commission was established to further investigate these possibilities; the first public consultation exercise directed at a proposed national park in the Cairngorms was undertaken in June 1929 in Glasgow. Invited participants included the Cairngorms Club, the Scottish Mountaineering Council, the Dundee Ramblers, the Glasgow and West of Scotland Ramblers Federation and the Scottish Right of Way Society. Public and private landowners were represented and the Royal Scottish Geographical Society sent a delegate. The outcome was general agreement that a national park should be supported, with the Cairngorms seen as the first choice (Lambert 1998: 326). The Scottish Forest Reserve Committee, with Sir J. Douglas Ramsay as chairman, was appointed to inquire into the matter further. A proposal for a 282 square mile park costing £ 345,000 [56] was submitted to the Addison Governmental Committees in 1930. This submission was made despite the then Aberdeenshire Council's refusal to contribute financially since, in their view, the park area was not close enough to Aberdeen to be of local benefit.

Throughout the 1930s, in both written and verbal debates, support continued to

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[56] Costs to purchase the lands sought for designation.

grow for the creation of a national park in the Cairngorms. However, it was proposed that the park be managed along the lines of the North American model, with lands purchased and put into public ownership. The perception of a national park where no one lived was evident in the attitude of discounting consideration of the human element in the shape of the local population. This raised many local fears and in particular set the landowners against the idea (personal communication, J. Hunter). J.P. Grant of Rothiemurchus led the owners in their opposition to the idea. While few in numbers, their influence was strategically placed and they were able to stall progress.

The debate over a national park ensued well into the 1940s, when the tone shifted to one of post-war reconstruction and heightened interest in the future of Britain's countryside (Matthew 2002: 172). A Scottish Council for National Parks was formed in 1943, succeeded by the Scottish National Parks Committee in 1946. Survey and site visits continued to various important areas in Scotland. In their final report in 1947 the Committee concluded that five national parks should be created, including one in the Cairngorms. If national parks were not to be established, then the non-internationally recognized, and hence lesser designation, of National Nature Reserves (NNR) was recommended as the best alternative. The committee proposed that NNRs, normally owned by the state, could remain in private ownership provided the owner agreed to collaborate on the conservation of wildlife (Matthew 2002:172). However, the issue of national parks in Scotland has remained emotive and controversial after the UK National Park Commission, set up under the National Parks and Access to Countryside Act of 1949, gave no provision for national parks in Scotland (Matthew 2002:172; Lambert 1998: 321).

Throughout the 1950s and 60s, recreation rapidly gained importance as a

source of income over Scotland as a whole; today mountain recreation is probably the largest source of income and employment in Scotland hill regions (Wrightham 2002:30). In the 1950s the development of the Cairngorms into a viable recipient of tourist monies was undertaken by voluntary bodies and landowners. In 1954, the Nature Conservancy declared the Cairngorms a National Nature Reserve thus granting some authority to the Secretary of State over planning in the area through the Nature Reserve Agreement. The principle objectives outlined by the Nature Conservancy in the 1959 management plan for the Cairngorms NNR have stood the test of time. There was awareness then of some of the issues that would become major problems in later years (Matthew 2002:173). To this day, some will say that the National Nature Reserve was all that was needed. A former official for SNH recounted a reason:

> *Anything more aroused fears of powers being taken away from local people, fears the place would be inundated by visitors and the peace and quiet would be gone and there was pressure from the landowners who feared losing their full control over the lands.*

Over the following decades, numerous sites within the Cairngorms were designated Sites of Scientific Interest, Ramsar Sites, [57] Special Protection Areas, Nature Conservation Areas and more. The Countryside Commission for Scotland embarked upon a program for its own national park system in 1974; however, they were careful to use the term 'special' park not 'national' park. Government acted upon the establishment of regional parks and national scenic areas but still hesitated on the creation of national parks under whatever term used (Phillips 2001: 57).

With respect to land use and conservation, Gimingham and Usher consider that the 1970s was the decade of ideas, the 1980s was the decade of questions, and the 1990s was the decade of biodiversity (Gimingham and Usher 2001: 93). Matthew

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[57] Wetland sites designated under the Ramsar Convention, an intergovernmental treaty, signed in 1971 in Iran for the protection of the world's wetlands.

prefers the decade of development (1960s) the decade of audit (1970s) the decade of conflict (1980s) and the decisive decade (1990s) (2002: 173-178). By either account, the 1980s were fraught with conflict. In 1981 the Wildlife and Countryside Act was passed, introducing new procedures for protecting SSSIs. This Act was as a result of the damage from farming and forestry (Matthew 2002:174). Landowners and occupiers who did not readily agree to the protection measures were offered financial compensation for profits potentially lost through implementing the procedures. This generated hostility due to the long bureaucratic process involved, the lack of clear direction on the procedures, and the lack of an appeal process to an independent arbitrator. Hostility also came from some local authorities who now saw SSSIs as constraints on development (Matthew 2002: 175). Meanwhile, the ski industry was thriving with three ski areas in the Cairngorms. The Cairngorm Chairlift Company was intent on expanding within an SSSI by building a road from Coire Cas to Lurcher's Gully with lifts, tows and a snow fence between (Matthew 2002: 175). This led to rounds of applications, objections, reviews, investigations and reports. In 1991, following much lobbying and debate, the proposed developments in Lurcher's Gully were rejected by the Secretary of State. In Matthew's (2002:175) view this inquiry and conflict was a key issue in the debate over the future of the Cairngorms. The process leading up to the construction of the funicular railway at the Cairn Gorm ski area served to heighten interest in the conservation of the area. Skilful use of media by all parties involved raised awareness of the issues to a national and international level. At the very least it provided a stage for the conservation bodies, development bodies and local and national authorities to explore the avenues for negotiation.

During the 1990s conservation took on a more serious role at all levels in the

Cairngorms. In 1990 the Countryside Commission for Scotland reported "the need to give new impetus to the core of Scotland's mountains and also to review the role that these areas are to play for a rapidly changing society" (Countryside Commission for Scotland 1990: 4). This was likely promoted by the realization in 1990 that, in the previous two decades, changes and damage had been inflicted upon the countryside in the name of maximizing food production. Conservation was becoming a popular cause and there was a need to devise ways to work with the numerous agencies, voluntary bodies, landowners, and farmers actively involved in land management (Phillips 2001: 57-59). The Countryside Commission for Scotland proposed the development of a national park as a solution that would provide the essential status and integrated management. However, while the notion of a national park was welcomed by recreationists it was opposed by landowners and residents, "who feared their interests, independence and livelihood might be adversely affected" (Gimingham 2002b: 207). Jim Hunter would consider this, "echoes of an underlying deep-rooted cultural factor; the suspicion of interests" (personal communication, Chairman HIE, Jim Hunter).

In the 1990s, conservation and wildlife management became more widely accepted as a legitimate use of land. In 1993, the Scottish Office Agricultural and Fisheries Department designated the Cairngorm Straths as an Environmentally Sensitive Area (ESA), providing payments to the land owners and occupiers who voluntarily signed up to adopt more environmentally friendly farming techniques. This may have helped to sway attitudes (Matthew 2002: 178). A System Three Public Opinion Poll in March 1991 indicated that 84% of Scots thought Scotland should have national parks (Gimingham 2002b: 206). The Cairngorms Working Party was formed to consider an integrated management strategy that would take into

account "conservation and enhancement of natural resources, social and economic benefits and access for recreation" (Matthew 2002:176). In 1994 this evolved into the Cairngorms Partnership tasked with producing a management strategy for sustainable development. Deer management policies came under review, and the forestry commission announced new management plans. It was recognized that a more integrated approach to management of the whole area was needed due to problems and issues such as:

- lack of regeneration of native pine forests due to a high population of deer;
- application of modern forestry techniques on native pinewoods including the under-planting of exotic species;
- attrition of the remote and wild mountain areas due to the development of ski lifts;
- bulldozing of hill tracks and unchecked erosion of footpaths;
- lack of a coherent strategy for visitor services;
- shortage of low cost housing due to the influx of holiday homeowners;
- poorly built development in some communities;
- poor public transport;
- drastic declines in farm incomes; and
- lack of co-ordination between government departments with a role in development and/or land use (Scottish Natural Heritage 1998).

In 1997 the newly elected Labour government reversed their predecessor's policy and declared itself in favour of national parks. It was decided at that time that necessary legislation for the creation of national parks would be the responsibility of the new Scottish Parliament. It was also decided that Loch Lomond and the Trossachs, followed by the Cairngorms, would be Scotland's first national parks (Gimingham 2002b: 208). In September 1997, Donald Dewar, then Secretary of State

for the Scottish Office and later First Minister for Scotland, stated in a press release:

> *I believe that national parks are the right way forward for Scotland. It is important that the structure of the national parks and the powers available to them are designed to meet the particular needs of Scotland. We are looking for a unique Scottish solution to meet a particular requirement. We are looking for a sustainable approach, where the requirements of economic and social development are balanced with those of conservation.*

In 1998, two years before the Act was introduced to Parliament, Scottish Natural Heritage (SNH) released *An Invitation to Contribute* seeking the public's views on the creation of national parks in Scotland. Responses indicated that, in Scots' views, national parks promote conservation and are a tool for management that ensures guardianship and stewardship of natural heritage (SNH 1998a: 6-7). Research papers were commissioned, a series of conferences and seminars staged and 23 community meetings were hosted. Highlights from autumn 1998 meetings included:

- need for staff to work with the communities as their process and engagement skills are at least as important as their technical skills;
- need for the park to develop a strong conciliation strand as tensions arising between conservation and development will prompt the need for skill that can create and enhance contacts and mutual understanding between different interest groups. This will be essential for the smooth operation of the park area;
- need for the park to focus on young people, recognizing and raising their awareness of the opportunities presented by the national parks, as well as increasing their understanding of the value of the park assets;
- need to examine ways in which the park can produce a range of expertise and experience that would be in demand in advisory, practical and managerial roles;
- need for the park to engage with practical issues facing local communities. These include housing and rural depopulation; and

- need to build a process of engagement that goes beyond consultation to real dialogue (SNH 1998b).

Concerns were expressed over how the national park would be managed, the degree of local input to decision-making and, above all, the credibility of local consultation. There was a sense amongst residents across the Cairngorms that the consultation conducted by the Cairngorms Working Party in 1991 was genuine. There was also a sense that, while the Cairngorm Working Party was working quite well for the local interests, the Labour Party 'sacked' the Directors, replacing them with more 'compliant folks'. A Braemar resident well acquainted with the activities of the Cairngorms Working Party told me that:

> *Of the original twenty-one members on the Working Party, nineteen were in favour of keeping the Partnership and only one was in favour of the national park. Since then, consultations have been avoided because they are seen to be political gimmicks, even termed fraudulent democracy.*

Over and over again I heard comments such as: "No matter what we say, we are getting a national park, it's already been decided so what difference will it make, they won't listen anyway." "It's a done deal." "The recent years of consultation have been so disappointing, it's just lip service."

A conference staged in August 1998 heard from local authority representatives that the forthcoming consultation "should be as wide ranging and as informed as possible" (SNH 1998: 10). The information should be distilled and made available in a popular form so that the wider community can make judgements. The need for a variety of forms of consultation to meet the diverse needs of the communities was recognized. A representative of the Rural Forum made a key point that the people who live in the areas that become national parks have different ideas and priorities from the people who visit these areas. The Landowners Association representative concluded that, "If it must happen, then include the people who are already living in

these areas. Speak to the local land users first, not last." Respect for the local residents was echoed by the environmental sector, which felt that the activities of the local people are very much a part of the landscape. This sector also expressed hopes that the national park would be the modern mechanism that would achieve the highest quality of management for the area. SNH concluded that the integration of conservation and development, representation of local interests in decision–making and the capacity for the park to make a difference to the resources in the area comprised the main issues (SNH, 1998).

In August 2000, the *National Parks (Scotland) Act 2000* was passed in Scottish Parliament. It set down the aims and procedures for creating a national park and the four aims of the national parks in Scotland:

- to conserve and enhance the natural and cultural heritage of the area;
- to promote sustainable use of the natural resources in the area;
- to promote understanding and enjoyment (including enjoyment in the form of recreation) of the special qualities of the area by the public; and
- to promote sustainable economic and social development of the area's communities.

As noted throughout previous chapters, the fourth aim is of particular interest when the relationship between the communities and the national park is considered. While these sentiments may be expressed in management plans in other national parks, to include it in the primary aims is unique to Scotland. Intended to be the Scottish solution to Scotland's problems, one purpose of the national park is to strengthen the competitive position of the area with respect to tourism.

Briefly, the procedures relating to the designation of the national parks were as follows:

1. Scottish Ministers publish a proposal for a national park.
2. An inquiry is conducted into the proposal to ensure necessary criteria are met; then public consultation is undertaken on the proposal.
3. The body conducting the inquiry and consultation reports back to the Scottish Ministers.
4. Drawing on the report, Scottish Ministers publish a '*Draft Designation Order*' for public consultation.
5. Following amendments made as a result of the consultation exercise, Scottish Ministers place the 'Order' before Parliament.
6. Parliament either accepts or rejects the 'Order.' If accepted, the national park is designated.

Section 3 of the National Park (Scotland) Act 2000 sets down the provision for public consultation subsequent to a national park proposal. It states:

(1) Scottish Ministers may require

a) Scottish Natural Heritage, or

b) Any other public body appearing to them to have expertise relevant to the National Park aims

to consider a National Park proposal and...to report to them by such date as they may specify on such matters ...as the requirement may specify. The Reporter must conduct a minimum 12 weeks consultation on the proposal. They must consult with :

i. every local authority,

ii. every community council any part of whose area is within the areas to which the proposal relates

iii. such persons as appear to the reporter to be representatives of the interests of those who live, work or carry on business in the areas to

which the proposal relates, and

iv. such other persons as the reporter thinks fit (National Parks [Scotland] Act 2000).

In September 2000, Scottish Ministers asked SNH to take on the formal role of Reporter for its proposal to establish a national park in the Cairngorms. SNH created a consultation document entitled *A Proposal for a Cairngorms National Park* (2000) in which fourteen key points were presented:

Area of the national park:

- the appropriate size of the national park which would allow for its effective and efficient administration by the national park authority;
- the preferred option for the area, and the reasoning for this choice;
- the approach developed to assess the area against the conditions set out in the National Parks (Scotland) Act 2000; and
- any social, economic or environmental information about any of the sub-units within the general area being considered for designation as a national park that might be relevant to the assessment exercise.

The specific boundary of the park:

- the principles which should be used to establish the detained boundary of the national park.

Powers and functions of the national park authority:

- whether there are any further powers that could be envisaged for the national park authority in the Cairngorms;
- the merits of Scottish Ministers' preferred option for the planning function remaining with the local authorities;
- the alternative option under which the national park authority would become the

planning authority with the local authorities given rights and statutory consultees; and any other options which could be considered;

- the possibility of establishing a single local plan for all or part of the area;
- whether the local authorities should be required to consult the park authority on all development proposals or just those which have particular importance to the special qualities of the national park; and
- whether local authorities should be required to notify Scottish Ministers of all development proposals on which they are minded to give planning permission against the wishes of the park authority, or just those which have particular importance to the special qualities of the national park.

Representation on the national park authority:

- the size of the park board and the number of its directly elected members;
- the approaches proposed for the allocation of membership between local authorities and on alternative approaches that could be envisioned;
- the potential areas of knowledge and expertise of those nominated by local authorities and directly appointed by Scottish Ministers;
- the total number of local members on the park authority and the number of these who should be nominated by local authorities and appointed by Ministers; and
- the timing of the direct elections with respect to the appointment of other members of the park board.

Name of the national park:

- the name of the national park proposed for the Cairngorms area.

Views were invited on any aspect of the consultation paper, including the supporting material contained in the annexes.

As advised in *Report No 107 Best Practices in Community Participation for National Parks* (1998) produced during the 1998 scoping exercise,

The inclusion of local knowledge into decision-making is essential. Methods for accessing that information and involving locals in the process start at the consultation stage. It is therefore important that the consultant accesses the right people, provides a true representation of their views, builds trust through comprehensive and accurate reporting, sets the stage for an inclusive model of management that is responsive and flexible to adapt to each community (Govan et al. 1998).

With these principles in mind, the Tomintoul Gathering was staged to discuss options for future (inevitable) consultation. Three options for consultation were developed: Options 'A' and 'B,' facilitated by Community Councillors or facilitators appointed by the Community Councils and Option 'C,' the more typical approach to consultation with one open public meeting facilitated by an outside professional. Since national park constituents include all the nation's citizens, not just those resident in the park area, efforts would be made to conduct a series of consultative meetings with the sectors and interest groups outside the proposed park boundaries – for purposes of this thesis, the others who are 'at home'.

In the fall of 2000, Malcolm Payne, recently retired from the Countryside Commission for Scotland and an enthusiastic advocate for national parks in Scotland, introduced me to Ian Jardine, regional director for SNH. Shortly after, on the advice of Chris Smout, Historiographer Royal and former member of the Cairngorm Partnership Board, I met with John Mackay a senior SNH official based in Edinburgh. It was not long after that I received an invitation from SNH to conduct an independent assessment of the public consultation process that was just getting underway. Following a discussion with Ron Macdonald, Director for the Cairngorms National Park proposal, terms of reference were agreed upon and a contract undertaken

between SNH and myself. Conducting the assessment for SNH afforded me a valuable opportunity to meet local people and to gather my first impressions of 'the field' where I would be conducting fieldwork. The purpose of my work was to:

- determine the quality and success of the public consultation process;
- acquire information which could be utilized by SNH in their efforts to incorporate 'best practice' in future public consultation exercises; and
- compare the community-lead public consultation (Option A and B) with the independently facilitated public meetings (Option C) and additional peripheral meetings taking place in communities adjacent to the proposed park area.

The Cairngorms Steering Committee was formed as a focus group that would devote special attention to the consultation process. Members included the Convenor of the Community Councils Group, a representative from the Cairngorms Partnership, representatives of SNH and the consultant co-ordinating the consultation process. As independent assessor of the consultation process, I was also a member of this group.

Consultation on the national park proposal officially commenced on December 11, 2000, and closed on April 30, 2001. The consultation process was instigated and funded by Scottish Natural Heritage. A priority for the Cairngorms Community Council Group (CCCG) was the implementation of an effective local consultation process in the communities within the Cairngorms Partnership Area (map 7) which was considered the starting point for consultation on the future national park boundary. The majority of the communities selected a locally facilitated option, a departure from the traditional top-down approach to public consultation. Community members were appointed by the community councils to receive training from public consultation professionals. Consultation materials, including posters, leaflets and documents outlining the national park proposal were provided by SNH. The intention

was two fold: first to facilitate this round of consultations from the local level and second to build capacity within the communities for future rounds of consultation.

On January 29, 2001, the Cairngorms Chamber of Commerce assisted by the Cairngorms Partnership, the Highland Council and Moray Badenoch and Strathspey Enterprises hosted a conference in Aviemore. The conference was designed to give local businessmen the opportunity to develop their vision for a Cairngorms National Park. One hundred and sixty-one delegates attended the conference where Sam Galbraith, Minister for Environment, Culture and Sport at that time, delivered a keynote speech. One of the several points he raised was the "significant amount of consultation ahead."

> I welcome the extensive process which SNH are putting in place which is offering plenty of opportunity for people to get involved and to express their views. Make no mistake – this is a time-consuming and expensive process but it is right that everyone should have the chance to express their views, and this extensive consultation reflects the many calls made during the passage of the Bill (Cairngorms Partnership 2001:16).

The process proved to be a success. 'Taking the issues to the people' proved to be a highly effective manner in which to achieve greater participation amongst the residents. In spite of foot and mouth disease, consultation fatigue and apathy, participation increased more that 250% compared with the previous 1998 public consultation exercise on national parks. Facilitators attributed success to the personal associations they held within their communities, stating: "We know the people, their work and their interests. People here will not talk to outsiders." Community facilitators utilized a variety of means to connect with residents. In addition to open houses and town-hall meetings, they met with residents in their homes, at schools,

day-care centres and workplaces. Facilitators made presentations to church groups, women's organizations, curling clubs, lunch clubs, senior's groups and to numerous gatherings within the communities. Meetings organized with farmers, wildlife managers, foresters, and environmental groups allowed participants to focus on mandated views and to put forward strong opinions on a particular subject. Local business and tourism organizations, community associations and clubs were also targeted. At locally facilitated meetings there was a sense of mutual participation and the atmosphere was informal. There was a greater sense of direct involvement and that responses were more meaningful when they were couched in local terms. According to facilitators "it was perceived that taking it to the local level showed knowledge of the regretfulness of previous consultations that were not intended to be genuine. Local people were impressed with the serious effort". Multiple media of access to information and opportunities to express opinions meant the process did not end when the scheduled public meeting was over. Community residents often experienced chance encounters with facilitators through day-to-day activities within the communities. Extra to the community events, there were numerous other avenues for participation including a website, a summary document with a mail-in response form, and written responses to the full consultation document - again, expanding opportunities for residents to express views and learn more about the national park proposal.

Geography pupils in local secondary schools were well versed on the national park proposal and were encouraged to discuss potential advantages and disadvantages of living in a national park. As potential future managers of the national park their views were important. On the positive side they predicted more jobs, more money coming to the area, a higher profile, better communication, protection for wildlife,

preservation of land, a means to sustain local culture, better planning and a role for the local community in decision-making. On the negative side they predicted too many people, limits to sport and recreation, ruined environment, more buildings, increased housing prices, threat to animals due to crowds, a park too expensive to set up and run, dilution of culture, more people moving in and loss of peace and quiet. When asked: "If you were given £1 million to run the park, how would you spend it?" the answers were: environmental education and interpretation, woodland management, paths and tracks, habitat enhancement, ranger services and visitor facilities, research, community development programs and land management. The pupils provided valuable and informed opinions.

The consultation process concluded on April 30, 2001 with an announcement on BBC television that it had been the most comprehensive consultation process ever in Scottish history. At a cost of £250,000 the expectation was that it demonstrated Scottish Executive's commitment to the local communities; it symbolized the value of their input. Local facilitators commented that: "Residents feel they have been truly consulted," "This was educational for all," and "We've done a better job so far than has ever been done in the past - the people are more aware; this is part of a continuing process." Reservations were also expressed: "If people think they have not been heard they will not come out again," "We are inevitably accountable to our communities when the report comes out and their comments are not in it," "There is a strong sense of apathy that what we say doesn't matter," "I would be extremely disappointed if SNH said this would never happen again because of the cost, " and "If there is not some degree of listening first by SNH and then by the Scottish Executive, we may as well say we're not interested in the park because it is all out of our hands."

SNH submitted their report to Scottish Executive in July 2001 Aspects of the

report most important to this study are given below. SNH recommended that:

A. The Park area should include the central Cairngorms and Lochnagar/White Mounth massifs and the straths which immediately surround them, including (map 6):

- in Badenoch and Strathspey, the communities of Dalwhinnie and Laggan in the west and Carr-Bridge, Grantown, Cromdale and Advie in the north;
- in Glenlivet and Strath Avon, the communities of Glenlivet and Tomintoul.
- in Donside and Deeside, the communities of Strathdon, Bellabeg, Braemar, Ballater and Dinnet;
- in the Angus Glens, the heads of the glens Esk, Clova, Prosen and Isla; and
- in Highland Perthshire, the community of Blair Atholl.

If designated as described, the park would have an area of 4580 sq. km. with a population of approximately 16,000 people.

B. The National Park Authority should have:

- the general powers as set out in the National Parks (Scotland) Act 2000;
- the responsibilities and powers for access proposed for local authorities under the draft Land Reform (Scotland) Bill; and
- statutory consultee powers on all matters affecting the area dealt with by local and national roads authorities, transport operators, statuary undertakers and other relevant public bodies.

C. The planning function within the Park should operate as follows:

- The National Park Authority should be a joint structure with joint responsibility of the structure plans covering the area. A joint committee of the five local authorities and the national park authority should prepare a single local plan for the park area.

- Local authorities should retain responsibility for development control decisions with the NPA becoming a statutory consultee.

D. Membership on the national park authority should be twenty-five members of which five are directly elected by people living in the park. On the basis of the area proposed, ten places on the board will be filled by local authority nominations as follows: Aberdeenshire three, Angus one, Moray one, Highland four, and Perth and Kinross one.

My report, entitled *Report 4 An Independent Assessment of the Consultation on the Proposed National Park for the Cairngorms (2001),* was released in December. It was a summary of findings based on 32 interviews, participation in 26 events, 52 questionnaires and 532 survey responses. Success relating to the consultation was measured against benchmarks set by Ron Macdonald (from SNH) and myself, my previous experience with Parks Canada consultation processes and advice in current literature on the subject. During fieldwork and while preparing the report I was faced with a dilemma. I was asked to conduct an independent assessment that would lead to improvements to the process and the implementation of best practices. This meant pointing out the weaknesses and shortfalls along with those practices that proved successful. SNH was paying me and, remuneration aside, I garnered personal benefit from the project so bias in favour of SNH's agenda had to be strongly resisted. SNH had conducted a well run, comprehensive consultation exercise. But it was also my duty to faithfully represent the people in the communities who had given me, an outsider, so much of their time and trust. As well, I had no doubt while writing the report that very few of the comments included in it would remain truly anonymous. With that in mind I included at least one quote from every interviewee. It was absolutely essential that people knew they had been heard and that their views had

been recognized as important. But I also had to keep in mind that the possibility of future equally expensive and comprehensive consultation processes hinged on the success of this process; therefore the successes needed to be highlighted.

Prior to my report's release I was given the opportunity to meet with community councillors to present the highlights. I was judged as being sympathetic to the communities' position, which is broadly the case. At this point another interesting event occurred. There was some confusion over who had hired me to complete the assessment. At the Cairngorms Community Council Group's (CCCG) request I had emailed a brief summary for their scrutiny at an earlier meeting. The summary was favourable to the process and outlined some areas for improvement identified by the facilitators. The email was sent on to other organizations, including SNH, with an introduction informing the reader that the CCCG was pleased to have hired me to complete the report for them. This was brought to my attention by Ron Macdonald who was, I think, disappointed with the CCCG that they should try to take credit for initiating the assessment. Following release of the final report, I was informed by an estate owner, who has several contacts in the Scottish Executive, that the Executive had insisted on an independent assessment – another case of trying to take away from SNH the credit for having the foresight to conduct an independent assessment. I wonder what events would have taken place had the consultation process and the report upon it been judged unsuccessful.

Copies of my report along with SNH's report with advice to Ministers, which was submitted as per the prescribed process, were mailed to parties who indicated interest in receiving a copy (both are available at www.snh.gov.uk). At the time it was assumed by SNH and the communities that SNH's advice and subsequent recommendations would be adopted, considering the expense, time and energy that

had gone into producing the reports. There remained a suspicion amongst local people that SNH was the wrong body to be reporting, mainly because of their clear remit to protect natural heritage. At least one Community Councillor personally reviewed the written responses as she was certain local input had been ignored in deference to the SNH agenda. Also, NGOs continued lobbying for centralized planning powers that would focus the planning function away from local issues, partly on the basis of potential WHS designation.

Following the consultation period, important community-driven initiatives relating to the national park continued to evolve. The CCCG, with the assistance of SNH, hired a coordinator to work with the communities and the council members. Building upon their previous experience, community members contemplated their approach to the next round of consultation. This would follow the publication of the *Draft Designation Order* (DDO), Scottish Executive's proposal for the park, theoretically following through on the results of the public consultation exercise and advice from the appointed Reporter (SNH). Accordingly the CCCG wrote an action plan. The plan reiterated their primary purpose of representing and promoting local communities' interests to the Partnership, ministers and officials of the Scottish Executive and of ensuring that communities were involved in the management of the national park. They pursued their objective of identifying a role for the CCCG in addressing all four aims of the national park, in particular the fourth aim. Subgroups were formed to deal with specific issues such as housing, conservation and communications. Meetings were held in communities, such as Glenisla (in Angus), in an effort to sustain interest in the national park. Through the Cairngorms Partnership, European Economic Union Leadership II funding was obtained for a community-based leadership program designed to further build capacity within the

communities. Some communities joined forces to address pending issues related to the national park. The Cairngorm, Rothiemurchus and Glenmore Group (CRAGG) wrote a management strategy based on the four national park aims. They foresaw that local knowledge and experience would influence new management schemes directed at local issues (personal communication, CRAGG administrator, L.Wedderburn).

But prospects for useful further consultation now turned gloomy. The Cairngorms Partnership, in concert with the Community Councils, prepared and submitted a plan for consultation in anticipation of the DDO to a senior official in the Deputy Minister's office. Sixty percent of the communities contacted by the Partnership and Councils reacted positively to being involved in a process that would build upon the previous round of consultation. But the only response the Partnership and Council plan received was that the minister's office had not yet finalized the DDO. On subsequent occasions the CCCG requested information on when the DDO would be released and sought clarification on their role in the consultation. They assumed that the consultation process would build upon the previous efforts and wanted to be prepared to act in as professional and effective a manner as possible. The consistent lack of response from the Scottish Executive and the Deputy Minister's office sparked anger and disappointment. Speaking for the group, one CCCG member expressed her disappointment and frustration: "It is appalling how this group has been treated. We have been asking them for months to outline their plans and have been fobbed off. This should be their last chance."

I met with the Deputy Minister prior to release of the DDO. A civil servant with Scottish Executive was on hand to answer questions. The interview started with me providing information on how Parks Canada manages its national parks. This was followed by a chat about the Deputy Minister's visit to Calgary, leaving only a few

minutes for questions regarding the future of the Cairngorms National Park. It was clear the Deputy Minister was not knowledgeable in national park management; however, such inexperience might be acceptable since Scotland is so very new at the game. The answers to my questions were almost word for word the official party line that focused on the four aims in the National Parks (Scotland) Act 2000. There was no hint at that time of what was in the DDO, and I wondered how much the Deputy Minister actually had to do with its final contents.

In accordance with the procedures in the Act, Scottish Ministers reviewed the comments from the public consultation and the report submitted by Scottish Natural Heritage. In May 2002, they published the *Draft Designation Order* initiating the next round of public consultation. Scottish Executive agreed to provide some funding for local consultation, a briefing session was held on the DDO and some community-led consultation events followed. However, for the most part public consultation was largely limited to responses via Internet and email. There was disappointment in the Scottish Minister's lack of enthusiasm to continue with, and build upon, the locally facilitated model of consultation. It is plausible that Scottish Ministers viewed consultation on the DDO as closure on the previous, more comprehensive rounds of consultation on the national park proposal and therefore granted it a much lower profile. However, an opportunity to increase community capacity in collaborative initiatives was lost by not following up on a successful community driven process; Scottish Ministers alienated the very people whose support is essential to the success of the national park. As a friend recently pointed out, "if you cut too many corners you end up running around in circles", a suitable metaphor for what happened throughout the rest of the designation process.

Early in January 2003, Scottish Executive advertised for applications for

appointment to the Cairngorms National Park Authority. The process was guided by the Commission for Public Appointments and managed by Scottish Executive officials in the Countryside and Natural Heritage Unit. An electoral return officer for Highland Council organized the direct elections. Each nomination paper was subscribed by two electors, as sponsor and seconder, and by four other electors for that electoral ward. The Cairngorms Board was named on March 24, 2003. It consists of 5 members directly elected, 10 appointed by Scottish Executive and 10 appointed by local councils. Of the 10 appointed by local councils, 5 are from Highland, 1 from Moray, 3 from Aberdeenshire and 1 from Angus. Andrew Thin was appointed convenor for the National Park Authority and Eric Baird was appointed deputy convenor. Neither they, nor any members of the NPA, have made light of the task that awaits them. Perhaps the biggest challenge will be co-ordinating the various authorities already exercising control in the area, each of which represents interests and investments that may or may not expect benefits from the national park; some likely feel threatened. The complexities of building new partnerships, in a national park context, with an already complex and at times conflicting scenario of relationships, is reflected in Andrew Thin's speech delivered at the designation ceremony on September 1, 2003.

> *It [the Cairngorms] is not a wilderness area like many national parks. Seventeen thousand people still live in the park and many more would like to if they could find the housing and employment here. For the people living in the communities the creation of the nation park has been an uncertain process. What say will local people have over the way in which it progresses and to what extent will the park become a licence through which outsiders may be able to impose their view? I have been told that I stand on a very unstable knife-edge. We are all conservationists at heart, and we all need houses, services, incomes and a future for our children. In an area such as this environment and economy are inextricably interlinked. I am amongst other things, a mountaineer and a conservationist. There have been times in recent months when I have almost been ashamed to admit this, because a tiny minority of people who share the same interest as I do seem unable or unwilling to understand the priorities and interests of anyone else. The*

relationship that many of us have with the Cairngorms is a profoundly passionate one. Many people seem to see the challenge of this national park in terms of land management, conservation, planning control, recreation management, business development or visitor services. I do not believe that any of these things are inherently very difficult. The real challenge seems to be to lie in the way in which people locally and nationally think about this park and their interests in it.

Boundaries and Planning Powers

Red deer over-population may present one of the greatest conservation issues for the Cairngorms National Park, but drawing the park boundary and designating its planning powers amount to perhaps the greatest political issues. This chapter contains significant detail on the series of meetings and the exchanges between various parties relating to such political matters, notably concerning the Scottish Executive's *Draft Designation Order* for the Park. Interestingly, the boundary issues served to unite otherwise competing/conflicting parties in joint opposition to Scottish Executive. Decisions on planning powers achieved the opposite; conservationists and non-residents were called to arms to oppose aspects of the designation that deferred to the communities.

The drawing of the national park boundaries is difficult in the best of situations. Park boundaries have been regularly manipulated by governments throughout national park history, often in response to conflicting demands of resource industries, environmental movements and indigenous peoples (Wilson 1991: 229). Wilson has stated that park boundaries are "important because they limit the meanings parks are allowed in the culture. They establish the privileged status of nature reserves by restricting access to them and physically separating them from other land uses; perhaps most importantly parks boundaries usually prohibit human habitation as well" (Wilson 228). However we have seen that the Cairngorms National Park bears these sorts of limitations with an extremely light touch; this Chapter arises from the

fact that much of the social conflict concerning the Cairngorms occurs because in this park 'normal life' is largely permitted to continue on.

In an effort to determine the most appropriate boundaries for Scotland's national park, the National Parks (Scotland) Act 2000 set three qualifying criteria for an area's inclusion in the national park: its outstanding national importance in terms of natural and cultural heritage, its distinctive character and coherent identity, and the possibility of special needs being met in a co-ordinated way. Accordingly several recognized geographic areas were assessed for a possible maximum score of fifteen. Scottish Natural Heritage (SNH), as appointed reporter, in line with the prescribed designation process and following a comprehensive local consultation recommended to Scottish Executive that some areas furthest from the core massif did not meet the criteria and while they should be responsibly managed as adjacent lands, they would not be inside the park boundary. As outlined in the previous section, SNH recommended the park include the central Cairngorms and Lochnagar/White Mounth massifs and the straths which immediately surround them for a total area of 4580 sq. km. While Scottish Executive held ultimate decision-making power, in park designation there was an assumption that they would be strongly influenced by the SNH's recommendations, and that this influence would be reflected in the next stage of the process, the *Draft Designation Order* (DDO), to be circulated for public review, prior to parliamentary ratification of a final *Designation Order*.

But Scottish Executive's boundary decisions did not align with SNH's recommendations, causing considerable angst amongst communities, conservationists, landowners, businesses and SNH staff. The *Draft Designation Order*, published in May 2002, proposed a national park that was approximately half the size of that proposed by SNH. The boundary enclosed thirteen communities and implicated three

councils (map 6), compared with the twenty-six communities and five councils as recommended by SNH (map 6). The perimeter was arguably carelessly defined, ignoring estate and village boundaries, watersheds and natural barriers. The most obvious exclusions were those areas in Highland Perthshire in the Perth and Kinross council area, adjacent to the newly proposed southern park boundary. Based on the evaluation criteria, these areas scored higher than several areas inside the boundary. There was widespread concern that the DDO did not reflect the natural and cultural heritage of the Cairngorms and hence would compromise the integrity of the national park. The reduced size of the proposed national park caused worry over the standard of conservation management in the areas outside the park boundaries as many of these areas may be seen as worthy of equal consideration. This was viewed as a departure from the principle upon which national parks are founded (LINK 2002, Cairngorms Campaign 2002a).

The DDO boundary, along with lesser issues, confirmed suspicions that the Scottish Executive was not prepared to listen to any advice 'from the field'. Landowners, conservationists, local governmental bodies, SNH and residents in general were disappointed with the lack of regard for the views and advice offered during the SNH public consultation on the national park proposal. The boundary divided small towns and estates, for many highlighting the fact that the authorities responsible for making such an important decision did not even know the area and, worse yet, obviously did not care about the implications. The public announcement of the *Draft Designation Order* mentioned two communities not specified in the DDO as being in the park and missed others that were. There was confusion, even at the highest levels, as to who was responsible for the boundary line and much debate ensued over how such thoughtless mistakes could have happened. Shared

disappointment, unintentionally creating the first occasion in memory when communities, conservationists and SNH were in agreement on issues related to conservation, prompted a LINK member to comment on how they were not used to working together with other local (non-conservation) groups.

Clearly the DDO and the way it was presented did little to foster confidence amongst the local communities. A slap in the face to previous thorough consultation it negated the work that had been completed, in earnest, by the community facilitators. It also stymied the Partnership's and Community Council's positive attitude towards their follow-up review and subsequent efforts to improve local consultation processes, and undermined locals' confidence that their efforts would pay off in future consultations. Any notion of empowering communities was erased, and local scepticism increased. To make matters worse the basic lack of consultation in drawing up the DDO were unexplained as were the decisions in the document. The CCCG produced a letter to the Deputy Minister criticizing the decisions in the document and the manner in which they were made. The letter stated that anything less than an open-handed approach "will create needless tension and dilute public confidence in the ability of the national park process to deliver what people want" (CCCG 2002: 15). The response from the Executive reiterated its commitment to the principles of local community participation and promised improvements in future communications. Ministers' representatives circulated a briefing note citing their reasons for a smaller national park: a) during consultation some of the excluded communities expressed a lack of interest in being included, b) the area selected for the Park must promote a clear focus and coherent identity and foster the establishment of a constructive partnership, and c) effective administration must be installed with limited resources and the area must provide a distinctive model for best practice in

environmental conservation (Scottish Parliament 2002). That the proposed boundary ran through some villages and some previously designated protected sites was covered in the aforementioned briefing note with reference to further consultation and review, that local advice would be taken and that the boundaries would be adjusted accordingly. For Cairngorm's residents this was perceived as definitively demonstrating the Ministers' lack of knowledge on local areas and issues, rather than as request for further knowledgeable local input.

The exclusion of Highland Perthshire from the national park came as a surprise to all sectors in the field. Upon learning this the Blair Atholl resident who had taken the time and energy to be come involved as community facilitator commented: "The whole tone reminds me of when Robbie Williams left the boy-band 'Take That,' the Sun newspaper had a wonderful headline the next day…That's That then!" Others were equally as discouraged but less complacent:

> *There is a great deal of unrest, not only about the boundary but also about the proposed national park not having planning powers* (manager Mar Lodge Estate).

> *It was all hot air – if you're going to bother to say what you think then it should be clear if you're going to be listened to. They weren't really serious about consulting us. Its like they thought it was the right thing to do but let's not bother being serious about it, it was token consultation. I hope you are looking at the consultation, it was appalling how little notice was taken of what was said* (owner, Atholl Estate).

Planning powers as they related to the park was the second highly contentious issue arising from the DDO. These powers followed in principle SNH's recommendations (outlined in the previous section). According to the DDO, the National Park Authority would have twenty-five members, five directly elected by local people, ten appointed by local authorities and ten appointed by Scottish Ministers. Local authorities would retain responsibility for preparing structure plans with the National Park Authority as a statutory consultant. The National Park

Authority would prepare, in consultation with the three implicated councils, a park-wide plan setting down polices on the nature, extent and type of acceptable development. The councils would continue to have first responsibility for development control on individual planning applications; the National Park Authority would have the power to call in for review any project applications that had significance to the national park aims (Scottish Executive 2002b). As announced at the launch of the DDO,

> Both the park authority and the local authorities have legitimate and important roles to play in ensuring that national and local interests are taken into account. Our proposed split of the planning function reflects the need for constructive partnership working (Scottish Executive 2002a).

The proposal to split planning powers between local authorities and the National Park Authority thereby granting local councils responsibility for decisions on development did not sit well with members of LINK. From the outset of the process, Scottish conservation groups voice a position that one central park authority should assume all planning powers. These comments for the Mountaineering Council of Scotland represent LINK's collective stance:

> *This consultation document is proposing policies that would make this national park one of the weakest in the world. The issues of planning powers is fundamental and in our view a national park that does not even have its own planning powers is simply not going to achieve any significant level of protection for the natural heritage values.*

> *The landscape and nature conservation interests, and the promotion and management of recreation and understanding of the national park can only be administered effectively if there is a unified national park planning authority as accepted throughout the rest of the world.*

Criticism of the DDO's proposals also focussed on management processes, as expressed in LINK member John Donahue's article in *Scottish Mountaineer*: "Just when you think they can't damage the credibility of the Cairngorms park further, they

do. Getting it wrong on the planning powers, then on boundaries and now on the Board compositions" (Donahue 2003). The author claims that the DDO makes no space for representation on the NPA from the informal outdoor recreationist. He also cites the need for an international figure to raise the profile and strengthen the park's nomination for World Heritage Site status. He sees this as a failure to build trust and working relationships amongst the stakeholders and affected interest groups. He also concludes with a politically correct statement that all interests must work together, including local people, businesses, recreationists, politicians, and environmentalists (his categories of the stakeholders).

The Draft Designation Order and its Aftermath: Events of Contestation

The publication of the Draft Designation set in motion not just a planned chain of bureaucratic procedure, including public consultation, leading up to the formal designation of the park, but also a much less predictable series of events, as various interest groups reacted to and attempted, in what amounted to last ditch efforts, to influence the various specifications of the park, especially its boundaries and planning powers. This section, following all the procedure and events, is a chronology of the shifting oppositions and alliances between relevant parties, throwing into relief the agendas and interests of the respective agents.

The conservationists were the first to initiate discussion, dissenting from the DDO over the matter of planning powers. On February 14, 2002, in response to a motion initiated by LINK, the Scottish Parliament debated the merits of nominating the Cairngorms for World Heritage Status. Central to the debate was the need for central planning powers to ensure the area would qualify for nomination. I found this an exceptionally interesting debate, as I knew, from a senior IUCN advisor, that the

Cairngorms area would never meet the criteria for World Heritage Site status. The reason are that the landscape has been subject to centuries of human use and is no longer in a natural state, and its geological characteristics are not exceptionally unusual. I have to assume that the LINK members advocating the nomination knew this yet could not resist invoking the possibility of this prestigious designation as a tool to support their bid for central planning powers. Members of Parliament spoke eloquently of the beauty of the area and its rich cultural history. They mentioned the importance of the Highland sporting estate in European terms, seemingly unaware that that alone compromises designation. One MSP, reading from prepared notes, was unable to pronounce the name of a site he claimed to hold dear. Another mentioned that celebrating the International Year of the Mountains with a nomination would be most appropriate; she obviously did not realize that the deadline for 2002 nominations had passed. Speaking to the real issue of planning powers, Fergus Ewing, an MSP from the Scottish National Party (SNP), commented: "The local community must be engaged in park planning" and added his support for "a park structure that does not create a new level of planning with more money spent on bureaucracy." The Deputy Minister responded that "we are committed to the national park, there is no intention to submit a proposal this year, first things first. A nomination would require critical preparation and the area must meet the criteria with an effective system of management."

Not to be discouraged, on April 23, 2002 LINK presented a joint petition to a Parliamentary Petitions Committee declaring that the recommended planning powers were inadequate "to ensure the effective protection and sustainable development of an area which has suffered from some of Scotland's most bitter planning controversies." The petition also raised the concern that without central planning powers the area

failed to meet the criteria required for World Heritage Site designation (Cairngorms Campaign 2002a). Websites for the various members of LINK spoke to these and other issues, including the view that the area was degraded because of the "history of inappropriate development in parts of the Cairngorms" (Mountaineering Council of Scotland 2002), and because a "national park without its own planning powers will not achieve any significant level of protection for the natural heritage values" (Mountaineering Council of Scotland 2002a). Bulldozed tracks, deer fencing and forestry development were central issues in the argument. Decentralized planning powers contradicted a precedent set in other UK national parks, including Loch Lomond and Trossachs National Park [58] (LINK 2002, Cairngorm Campaign 2002).

Discussion of the DDO also occurred at the level o the local Cairngorms community. The following is an excerpt from notes prepared by an SNH official following the public meeting arranged by the Newtonmore Community Council and attended by Scottish Executive bureaucrats:

> *Truth be told the Executive's team got off lightly* (in the meeting), *as there was no sustained pressure on the failings of their proposal. Briefing notes were presented in substitution for the lack of adequate argument in the consultation paper* (DDO). *Perusal of them does not properly illuminate how the Executive got to their proposal but at least on one area there is a degree of explanation if not justification for its choice of area in a new set of criteria, albeit without explanation of how they had got to these criteria or how they might be applied.*
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> *Planning issues created a fair amount of debate but with some confusion over the roles of the park and other statutory plans. All will fall into place was the reassuring senior official line, and protocols between park and local authority will help smooth the way forward.*
>
> *There was one back handed compliment that the Executive had no need to bark when it kept a dog, and an excellent dog it had too in SNH!*
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> *Inevitably the area proposed was a bit of an issue but not seriously so because only Laggan was present to complain about exclusions and in later discussion, the councillor seemed to be resigned to a fait accompli. ...I had the indication*

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[58] Loch Lomond and the Trossachs was declared Scotland's first national park in July 2002.

that they will aim to hold their line and may succeed here unless the volume and force of national complaining is sufficient.

With Scottish Ministers taking so little notice of what was said during the previous consultation and ignoring SNH's advice, enthusiasm was not especially forthcoming from the communities for this second round of consultation. This left the process open for domination by special interest groups. SNH produced a comprehensive response to the DDO outlining their discomfort with numerous elements. Environmental groups advertised their dissatisfaction in the media and on websites.

Consultation on the DDO closed in August 2002 with 463 registered responses. It now fell to the Deputy Minister for Environment and Rural Development, members of Scottish Executive and Ministerial committees to move the designation process forward. What follows is a detailed account, partly based on parliamentary transcripts, of the debate that ensued. The Rural Development Committee's (RDC) remit is "to report on matters relating to rural development, agriculture and fisheries and other such related matters as fall within the responsibility of the Minister for Rural Development" (www.scottishparliament.uk). As such, the RDC was specified by the Parliamentary bureau as lead committee on the Scottish Statutory Instrument for the designation for Cairngorms National Park. The Transport and Environment Committee was specified as second committee. Both Committees are composed of MSPs representing the Scottish Labour Party, Scottish Liberal Democratic Party, Scottish National Party and the Scottish Green Party. On September 24, five Scottish Executive officials, members of the Deputy Minister's team, appeared before the RDC. The following is an excerpt from the transcript of minutes of the meeting.

RDC: *From the Executive's figures on the consultation, less that 10% of the*

consultees are happy with the executive's proposed park boundary and 75% are opposed. Many of my constituents are dumbfounded by the logic that the Executive used to come up with the DDO. Their puzzlement over what the Scottish Executive has done knows no bounds. SNH, which is often criticized, worked very hard over a couple of years to produce a consultation exercise with which most people were happy. Has not the process of consulting been brought into disrepute? We hear people saying, "This is real consultation", because many consultations are not. Will the Scottish Executive listen to the consultees?

Scottish Executive: Yes.

RDC: *My constituents in Strathdon are outraged about the way the Scottish Executive has treated the area. SNH advised that the boundary should not run along watercourses and that communities should be kept together. In Strathdon, the proposed park boundary would follow the river Don. I have lost count of how many times the boundary crosses the A944, which runs through Strathdon up to Tomintoul through the Lecht ski centre. People driving along the road will be confronted with signs welcoming them to the Cairngorms National Park, followed shortly by signs telling them that the are leaving the park, and then more signs welcoming them back to the park. This is a stupid way of drawing a boundary. I cannot believe that the Scottish Executive has come up with such a proposal. I cannot understand why, against all the advice that was given to the minister, the park boundary runs through the village of Dinnet, on the river Dee. My final point concerns the special conservation area around Glen Tanar, which is marvellous for visitors in the northeast. The proposed park boundary runs through the middle of Glen Tanar, the entrance to Glen Tanar will not be in the national park but the car park will be. However, when people cross a beautiful stone bridge over the burn they will leave the national park, I cannot understand the Executive's logic.*

Scottish Executive: *We had to work with a small-scale map. You have pointed out some possible inconsistencies. At the end of the day this is a decision for ministers.*

RDC: *No reasons were given in the draft order for the decision, which caused a great deal of anger. If the Executive decides to reject an opus, after such a large consultation exercise was conducted, surely it is incumbent on ministers to give reasons for the rejection.*

Scottish Executive: *As I said earlier it is a question of ministerial consideration. Ministers considered the criteria set out in the National Park Act. I think we have a fairly clear view of what the views are.*

RDC: *I wish I could say that things are suddenly clear. I have no idea what you have just said were the criteria for the decisions where to draw the boundary.*

On October 11, 2002, the members of the RDC travelled to Kingussie to take

evidence from individuals and organizations, including SNH, Highland Council, The Scottish Council for National Parks, the Strathdon community, the Community Council Group and the Cairngorms Chamber of Commerce. They also took informal evidence from members of the local community. Alex Ferguson, Chairman of the RDC, opened the day with a statement that, "We are in Kingussie today to hear first hand from local people…and to listen to their concerns about the current proposals."

During the meeting, the petition submitted by LINK (PE 481) was revisited. Bill Wright from the Cairngorms Campaign, the pertinent lobby within LINK, reiterated the group's interests in central planning powers and used the opportunity to raise concerns over the boundaries. When asked if his views represent those of the ordinary people living in the park area, he responded that

> *Views in the local area are divided, as they are throughout Scotland. There have been some hurtful controversies…others may arise. Part of the problem is that within the planning authorities, various parties have ended up in an adversarial position. That is perhaps the fault of the planning system. There will be a real opportunity to resolve controversy …through a widely supported local plan.*

When questioned on his claims that the Executive had ignored the view of communities, Wright responded:

> *Considerable damage has been done. People have become so fed up that they have almost given up on the process. In other words, what happened was far-removed from what was anticipated. You must not forget that expectations were raised during the consultation process. They were raised by the Cairngorms Partnership, in which all the communities were involved.*

He went on to say "I remain deeply unhappy about the fact that the minister says that he will produce an alternative proposal by the end of October. Serious practical issues exist."

On behalf of Laggan community, Campbell Slimons, past president of the National Farmers Union of Scotland and a member of various farmers' associations, presented a petition for inclusion in the national park (PE 555). Slimons is a farmer in

partnership with his son and daughter-in-law. His son is the fourth generation on the farm, though, acknowledging the prestige accorded long-term residency in the community, he recognizes that, "In comparison with some of the signatories on the petition, we are just white settlers." In defence of the petition, Slimons reminded the committee that when the Cairngorms Strath Environmentally Sensitive Area was set up, Laggan was at the forefront. The social strength of Laggan came through when he stated: "There are about 200 people in the Parish of Laggan. We have forestry, a community owned shop and five community-owned houses. We have a hall and we have undertaken other initiatives." With respect to planning he offered that

> *When we found out we were outside the boundary, we reflected that one of the reasons why we would not want to be in the park was that we would not want to be subject to planning restrictions. However, we understand that being just outside the park means that the same planning restrictions will be placed on us. We do not want to have a dump just outside the park.*

Asked what percentage of the parish was represented in the petition, Slimons responded, "Our evidence is only from the farmers and crofters but I can be sure that the level of representation from them is 100%. The community had a meeting and a vote was taken. The result was 2:1 in favour of being inside the boundary."

Evidence was then taken from three panels of witnesses. The mebers had previously made written submission to RDC, giving their background and reasons for wanting to be part of a panel. Adam Watson, the outspoken conservationist, was a pioneer panellist introducing himself as someone deeply interested in the Cairngorms and its area and its people since 1938. He responded to questions regarding conflicts in the area:

> *The way in which taxpayers' money has been spent by state-funded bodies, such as the Forestry Commission, has been one of the main causes of damage in the area. The Countryside Commission suggested the integration of state funding...ending much unnecessary waste of taxpayers' money and (helping) to prevent damage to the area. SNH has not achieved such integration...and that is its biggest fault. SNH has let us all down. Highland Council is often*

> *picked on as the bogeyman, but in Aberdeenshire, millions of pounds of taxpayer's money was spent on suburbanizing and Disneyfying Braemar in the teeth of local opposition. That example illustrates the need for a body to take an overall view and to integrate diverse interests in a way that they do not conflict.*

Asked about his accusations of a political fix driven by local authority convenience,

Watson replied:

> *My suspicion of a political fix arose from the fact that Highland Council has long been publicly opposed to any kind of national park. However, when a previous convener of the Council sat on SNH's main board, a meeting was held in Battleby between Highland councillors and a senior SNH person who was dealing with national park issues. After that meeting, public statements from Highland Council made it clear that it welcomes the national park, because SNH had recognized the council's concerns that planning powers should remain with local authorities and that most of the extra costs would be borne by the national taxpayer. That was followed by an SNH report that said that it had advised ministers that arrangements for the Loch Lomond and the Trossachs National Park should be different from those for the Cairngorms and that ministers' preferences also differed on the two areas.*

Asked, "Are you saying that SNH received the support of Highland Council on the basis of a promise that it would have control on planning?" he responded, "I suspect that is the case. Many people share my suspicions. The SNH documents give many arguments for treating the Cairngorms differently. Those arguments are bogus because they also apply to the Loch Lomond and the Trossachs National Park." A very brief and very tame confrontation ensued between a member of Highland Council and Dr. Watson regarding this accusation. I must assume that Committee members and participants had anticipated Dr. Watson would rise to the occasion.

Another panellist, Bruce Lufman, representing Strathdon community, presented an argument for the inclusion in the park of the parishes of Strathdon and Glenbuchet, citing a public meeting and a questionnaire that demonstrated that in these parishes 93% of the people were in support of inclusion. Not unlike other communities excluded in the DDO, Strathdon had simply assumed, based on topography culture and environment, that it would be inside the park boundaries.

Other panellists, community and organization representatives, voiced over and over again their disappointment at the Scottish Executive's response to the consultation process; their views had clearly not been listened to. They expressed feelings of dis-enfranchisement, and questioned the whole process leading up to designation. The initial enthusiasm to become involved had been lost. The business community raised concerns that fair and accessible business opportunities would be lost if the *Designation Order* did not consider responses more equally and did not remain true to the four aims of the park. Issues surrounding the shortage of suitable housing and the influx of holiday homeowners were raised numerous times.

Panellist Eric Baird, Chairman of the CCCG, supported the inclusion of communities at the planning stage and questioned the lack of clarity of planning powers in the DDO regime. When asked about the consultation process for the DDO he commented that there was virtually no consultation:

> *For several months beforehand we had repeatedly contacted Scottish Executive officials, asking them how the process was going, whether we could be engaged in planning for it and what the process was going to be. It was not until virtually the 11th hour that we were asked to come on board. It has been better than nothing, however it has not been as useful as our participation in the consultation on the initial proposal. Our response is "not very good; could do better – in fact has been done better in the past"; it is unfortunate that lessons of the past have not been taken on board. The experience of the past and our review of the experience would have meant that we could have made the consultation even better, had we been taken on board earlier.*

When asked about information and opinions from the communities being disregarded, he responded:

> *When the DDO came out, the communities went through a range of emotions. The first emotion was disappointment that the Scottish Executive's response did not corroborate either the advice SNH gave or the views of the local community. Secondly, we are perplexed that the rationale that was given did not seem to explain that disparity. For example, administrative coherence was talked about, yet that did not seem to be one of the original criteria on which we were assessed. Finally there was some anger and hurt among the communities. Our group had gone out into the communities saying: "Yes, we know how you feel about politics - that it is all stitched up - but this is genuine.*

This is different. Believe me, we expected the process to be different." There was a great deal of disappointment and hurt in the communities when the DDO was published and failed to reflect the views of the communities or of SNH.

During an informal session that followed the scheduled presentations, eighteen members of the audience were given 90 seconds each to state their views. Surprisingly, a lot can be said in 90 seconds. Foremost on peoples' minds were the boundaries, followed by housing and then planning powers. Only one person, Simon Blackett from Braemar, supported boundaries smaller than those in the DDO, which would, of course include Braemar.

Their sounding completed, in a letter dated October 14, 2002, the RDC informed the Deputy Minister of their concerns. They noted the 'enormous' resources put into the consultation process, £250,000 of Scottish Executive funds and 30 SNH staff. The RDC noted the widespread support for the consultation process. They also noted that while SNH provided reasons for their recommendations in the report submitted to Scottish Executive, the exact opposite was true for Scottish Executive and the DDO. The RDC reported that it was disappointed that the Executive did not provide fuller explanation of the rationale behind the DDO, particularly where the decision on boundaries was concerned. They unanimously recommended that the Scottish Executive adopt the boundary proposed by SNH with one exception, to include the Parish of Laggan, including the headwaters of the Spey. With respect to planning powers, the RDC recommended that the local authorities and the NPA should jointly produce the structure plan for the park, as outlined in the DDO. Recognizing that many believed the NPA should have full powers they recommended that planning arrangements be monitored and reviewed after a period of seven years. At this point the views of the community should be taken on board with a view to making necessary changes. They also recommended that housing be a priority for

local authorities and the NPA and noted the concerns of farmers including the need for appropriate land management schemes to ensure farmers can capitalize on the opportunities afforded by the creation of the park (letter from Alex Ferguson, Chairman RDC, to Alan Wilson, October 14, 2002).

On November 2, 2002, the CCCG staged a one-day workshop in Kingussie entitled *Local Communities and the Cairngorms National Park – The People and the Place*. The purpose of the workshop was to consider how communities in and around the national park could be involved in its management. Over 120 representatives from communities, agencies and organizations throughout the Cairngorms were in attendance. The workshop opened with a message from the Deputy Minister, delivered by his executive assistant, Andrew Dickson as the Deputy Minister was unable to attend. The long anticipated revisions to the DDO were unfortunately not part of his rhetoric–laden message extolling the importance of community involvement for the national park authority's successful operation. The workshop was well planned to serve local interests. The morning sessions, chaired by Jim Hunter from Highlands and Islands Enterprise, included presentations from SNH, the Cairngorms Partnership and the WWF. Jim Hunter commented that, "It was not so long ago the general attitude was to stay out of the National Park, now you all want in, it's a sign of progress." The afternoon was a workshop designed to identify the ways and means of becoming positively and productively involved in managing the national park. Housing once again surfaced as the highest priority. The atmosphere remained positive throughout the day. In spite of the positive mood, Stewart Fulton, Managing Director of the Cairngorms Partnership warned participants that, "We need to put an end to the negative publicity. There is only one option here and that is constructive engagement." There was a sense that the warning had to do with the fear of scaring

off investors who might be attracted to the national park.

From November 6 to 8, 2002, a conference entitled *Nature and People: Conservation and Land Management in the Mountains of Northern Europe* was staged in Pitlochry to a mark the International Year of the Mountains. It was well planned and very well attended with representatives from national parks in Iceland, Sweden, Norway, Finland and Canada. The first item on the agenda was an address from the Deputy Minister for Environment and Rural Development. Once again, the audience was anticipating an announcement on the *Designation Order* and, hopefully, significant changes to the boundaries. Instead, a senior official from Scottish Executive gave another rhetorical address on the value of communities and of sharing knowledge. He skilfully ducked issues relating to the Cairngorms. In his address, The Provost of Perth made several remarks about the illogical exclusion of Highland Perthshire from the national park. Throughout the three-day conference there was a degree of anticipation that at any moment an announcement would be made. National media, capitalizing on the controversy surrounding the boundaries, interviewed the chairman of the CCCG. During the conference dinner, a very disappointed member of the CCCG advised me that the announcement would not be forthcoming until sometime the following week. Scottish Executive would appear to have been highly insensitive to an opportunity to build goodwill locally and internationally. The international representatives left the conference doubtful of Scottish Executive's ability to manage its newest and largest national park.

The Deputy Minister's response to the RDC came on November 14, 2002 in a letter informing the committee that the boundaries would be changed to include the head of the Angus glens, much of the Glenlivet Estate and the Strathdon/Buchet area, Laggan, Drumochter pass and Dalwhinnie. The southern boundary was also extended

to include Glentomie and the Gaick forest on the edge of the Highland council boundary. These changes may have seemed significant to those unfamiliar with the national park proposal but, in fact, the Deputy Minister's boundaries still encompassed an area much smaller than SNH had originally recommended. With respect to planning powers, the Deputy Minister replied that the National Park Authority would prepare the local plan and would also concentrate on land management. Since both the seven-year review and the housing issues are operational/planning issues they did not fall under the DDO; the RDC was thanked for their recommendations but no action was necessary at this time.

LINK members continued to use the media to garner support for further changes in the boundaries and planning powers. They enlisted the backing of IUCN members meeting in Edinburgh on November 5, 2002 - exerting pressure from the international committee for World Heritage Sites would surely get the Executive's attention. The next day, a rather obscure article appeared in the *Scotsman* with supportive quotes from Roger Crofts, Adrian Phillips and Lady Glasgow, members of the UK IUCN Committee. However these names mean little to those outside the conservation community and the article did not attract the attention it 'deserved', according to LINK members.

On November 14, 2002, National Trust for Scotland (NTS), for the first time in their history, published a press release and sent letters to all members stating their case for the expansion of the boundaries and for central planning powers. The press release asked: "Why bother with the charade of wide-ranging public consultation if the Executive largely ignores the response? The Scottish Executive continues to ignore the voice of the people of Scotland." The proposed southern boundary and the decision to leave planning powers with the local authorities were cited as reasons

for rejecting the *Designation Order*. On November 27, 2002, NTS Chairman Roger Wheater hosted a gathering in Edinburgh attended by representatives from Perth and Kinross council, various conservation organizations, and MSPs, mostly members of the RDC. Inexplicable boundaries and planning powers and the subsequent detrimental effects on local communities were the stated by Wheater as causes for concern. Others present commented: "The Perthshire side of the Glenshee ski area is cut out, the traditional walking routes are divided, and the landscape makes the boundary illogical," "In the Cairngorms nobody has agreed about anything for eons! Where integrated planning is most required it is least provided for," and "According to the scoring system for coherence (designed by SNH to rank natural characteristics), Highland Perthshire scored eleven, some areas that are included only scored five. The revised version includes some areas with 7 & 8 but it still excludes the highest rated area – the revision is rubbish." As the meeting progressed, the evident lack of logic in the boundaries and the absence of any explanation caused one MSP to ask if I knew who had drawn the boundaries. At another point in the meeting, a member of Scottish Executive asked if *anybody* knew who had drawn the boundaries. This caused some uneasiness as it was assumed that, at the very least, the Executive, on whose behalf the DDO was presented, would know who had made the decisions.

It was decided that Ministers should urgently be pressed to get a new *Designation Order*. Confusion reigned over the consequences of rejecting the order and where, if rejected, the process would re-start. Also: " Is it feasible to launch a judicial review? If so will the *Designation Order* be rejected?" "World Heritage Site status and world exposure is up to you MSPs, how is Scottish Parliament going to be judged. We have to look beyond the political agendas, prove that MSPs can help." " If we reject the Order do we go back to square one?" Legal advice would be sought

regarding the implications of postponing or rejecting the Order. Finally, a decision was taken to try to change the boundary now and press to change the planning later, once the park was set up and running. The conclusion, most importantly, was that, "It does not do the National Parks Act any favours to go ahead in its present manner." As such, NTS would put forward a motion calling for the rejection of the *Designation Order*.

The following day I met with a former community councillor for Blair Atholl who remains active in the community. Amongst other things he is an organic farmer, wildlife photographer, former gamekeeper, and member of the community forest land trust. Asked what the local people were saying about all the controversy over their non-inclusion in the park, he calmly replied that they didn't much care. Previously, there was never any doubt in their minds that, like it or not, they would be in the national park; the reasons are obvious. At this point, having been excluded and watching all the manoeuvring and confusion, they felt safer outside the park. They have other things to worry about, more important things that affect their daily lives.

On December 4, 2002, the Transport and Environment Committee began its work as the secondary committee to consider the statutory instrument for designation of the Cairngorms National Park. Their role was to make recommendations to Parliament whether or not the instrument (mechanism for passing the *Designation Order* into law) should receive Parliamentary approval. This secondary committee took evidence from the National Trust for Scotland, the districts of Aberdeenshire and Highland, and the Royal Planning Town and Planning Institute in Scotland. The focus was planning, leaving the boundary issues to the RDC. With the exception of Highland council those giving evidence cited the following as the primary concerns over the proposed split planning powers: the call-in mechanism, the appeal

mechanism, zoning, and the level of planning powers exercisable by the National Park Authority. The Committee was persuaded that the planning powers were "not sufficiently clear, transparent or grounded on local accountability," and reported accordingly to the RDC.

On December 10, 2002, the RDC took further evidence from Ross Bean, Director of Planning and Development Services for Perth and Kinross, who presented a case for the inclusion in the proposed park of parts of Highland Perthshire. He urged rejection of the order and the postponement of the establishment of the park until May 2003, to allow time to sort out pressing issues. He stressed: "There is no justification for the decision that he (Deputy Minister for Environment and Rural Development) has taken and neither has section 6 (6) of the National Park Scotland (2000) Act. This lack of justification is understandable because there is no reasonable justification for the exclusion of Perth and Kinross." When asked why the council did not make a submission similar to Laggan, he responded: "With such a strong case for inclusion it never occurred to them that they would not be in the park."

Later the same day, the RDC met with the Deputy Minister to take final evidence before submitting their final judgement (acceptance or rejection) of the *Designation Order* to Parliament. This was a long and rather frustrating afternoon, the meeting running from 3:00 p.m. until almost 7:00 p.m. Asked repeatedly for an explanation for the exclusion of Highland Perthshire, the Deputy Minister replied consistently that the decision was based on achieving a 'coherent identity'. He insisted that there was no discrimination over the question of whether three or five local authorities could participate in the process, refuting any accusation that there was a political stitch-up (an agreement between the Executive and Highland Council ensuring Highland Council a majority vote on the National Park Authority) behind the

decision. He commented that

> *The representation we received from the general public led us to conclude that the park would have a more coherent identity if it did not incorporate the Perth and Kinross council area. We had to take on board all the considerations imposed on us by the Parliament and the National Parks Act.*

As in the past, the Deputy Minister claimed to have his hands tied by legislation and parliamentary procedure. A brief discussion ensued over the implications of withdrawing the *Designation Order* versus rejecting the *Designation Order*. No agreement could be reached on just what withdrawing the *Designation Order* would entail and whether it would simply delay the designation or would trigger a re-start of the whole designation process. Of the over 460 responses received during consultation on the DDO, only 33 agreed with the boundaries. When quizzed on the apparent lack of consensus for the decisions reflected in the subsequent *Designation Order*, the Deputy Minister responded that "A boundary line will include the majority of those who want to be included and will exclude some of those who would want to be included, it will also include some who may not want to be included"; a truly ambiguous response.

There was a particularly difficult exchange between the Deputy Minister and Keith Raffan (MSP) when the Deputy Minister contradicted himself and, in my view, revealed that he underestimated the importance of the issues at hand and the knowledge of the RDC. It became evident that the Deputy Minister would not withdraw the *Designation Order* where upon Fergus Ewing (MSP) put forward a clear and reasoned argument on behalf of an amendment that spoke to the regret for lack of inclusion for certain areas (Amendment S1M-3702 below). A second amendment calling for the inclusion of the Gaelic translation for the name of the park was also addressed, without controversy. During final considerations, Raffan congratulated the Deputy Minister on uniting every party in Perth and Kinross council against him

adding:

> *This is all I can congratulate him on. I came here today hoping that the Minister would clarify his position, but I think that it is even more cloudy than it was the last time that I met him. If the Minister does not withdraw the Designation Order, the park will be set up in an atmosphere of controversy. There is likely to be a judicial review and the boundary will become an election issue.*

In the event the RDC decided to send the DDO forward for Parliamentary approval with both amendments as caveats. In a sudden turn Rhoda Grant, MSP from Badenoch and Strathspey, withdrew her support for inclusion of Highland Perthshire; once Laggan and Dalwhinnie were included she apparently saw no reason to support inclusion for any other districts. A fellow Labour MSP followed suit; thus support for the amendments was not unanimous. It was also decided that the Convener would request that standing orders be suspended and the Committee be granted a ninety-minute debate instead of the usual nine-minute debate in Parliament. Amendment S1M-3702.1 was inserted at the end of the Scottish statutory instrument and read:

> *The Rural Development Committee regrets the exclusion from the boundaries of the Cairngorm National Park of those area of Highland Perthshire and Drumochter, including the forest of Atholl, Beinn a Glo and Blair Atholl, all of which were recommended for inclusion within the park boundary by Scottish Natural Heritage in its report prepared for the Scottish Executive in the proposal for the a national park in the Cairngorms and is concerned that if these areas remain excluded, the attainment by the park of World Heritage status may be put in jeopardy, and further regrets the order does not include the Gaelic translation of Cairngorms National Park which is Paric Naiseanta a Charin Ghuirm.*

On December 12, 2002, the legislation with the amendments was put before Parliament. What ensued was a mix of party politics and parliamentary procedure. Fergus Ewing (Scottish National Party) from the RDC put forward a motion seeking a full debate on the draft order instead of the usual nine minutes maximum with three speakers provided for in the standing order. Ewing put forward a convincing argument citing NTS evidence on the boundary issues. Euan Robson (Liberal

Democrat) argued against Ewing's motion on behalf of the Scottish Executive: it was obvious that the Deputy Minister did not savour the idea of repeating the afternoon of December 10. A vote was taken and Ewing's motion was defeated 52-54. All the SNPs supported him along with the Conservatives and 5 Liberal Democrats. Shortly after, Euan Robson moved a motion to approve the *Designation Order* as presented by Scottish Executive. Alex Ferguson, chair of the RDC, spoke to the amendments that summarized the RDC's view that the *Designation Order* should have included Highland Perthshire and the Gaelic translation of the name. The Deputy Minister spoke in favour of the motion without amendments, repeating his views that a coherent identity for the park was all-important and recalling words from (the late) Donald Dewar, devolved Scotland's first First Minister, that express Dewar's desire and vision for two national parks for Scotland. The vote on the legislation-as-amended motion was not taken until decision time at 5:00 p.m. Ferguson's amendments were narrowly defeated by 57 votes to 63 votes. The RDC had gained support from 4 independents and 4 Liberal Democrats. The *Designation Order* was then passed easily by 100 votes to 20. The SNP switched their support back to the Scottish Executive and the only votes against were the Conservatives, Harper (Green Party) Raffan (Liberal Democrat) and Sheridan (Independent). All but Raffan 'caved in' and voted with their party, including Mike Rumbles (Liberal Democrat representing Kincardine and Deeside) who, to this point, had been very vocal and almost annoying in his stance against the boundary.

Controversy over the park continued to attract media attention. One article in the December 15, 2002, *Sunday Herald* was entitled "Park strife: It was meant to help secure the beauty of Scotland for the public good but bitter battles and claims of a political stitch-up have turned the Cairngorms National Park into a national farce."

Another article stated: "Perth and Kinross Council are taking legal advice with a view to challenging the decision to omit a chunk of Perthshire from the park. 'We are continuing to pursue the possibility of judicial review. Discussions are being held with other bodies that may be considering similar action'." On February 10, 2003, the BBC 2 radio programme *Nature* interviewed Bill Wright (from the Cairngorms Campaign), focussing on the boundaries and planning powers. Numerous other articles had appeared throughout the designation process.

Spearheaded by the Cairngorms Campaign, PARC, the Perthshire Alliance for the Real Cairngorms was formed shortly after the *Designation Order* was passed in Parliament. Members include Atholl Mercantile Association, the Cairngorms Campaign, Highland Perthshire Communities partnership, the Mountaineering Council of Scotland, National Trust for Scotland, Perth and Kinross council, Perthshire Chamber of Commerce, Perthshire Tourist Board, the Ramblers Association and Scottish Natural Heritage. PARC campaigned for the boundaries of the national park to reflect the recommendations made by SNH, in other words to include Highland Perthshire. They staged a press release at Bruar Falls on March 12, 2003, gaining national TV and newspaper coverage. Their goal was to achieve a boundary change before the official opening of the park in September. Listed amongst PARC supporters was the owner of Atholl Estate. This was interesting in that estate owners typically do not align themselves with conservation activists. In conversation with me, the owners made it perfectly clear that they were appalled at how little the Scottish Executive had considered what the local people had been saying during the national park consultations. Their advice had been ignored and it was obvious that no one cared what they thought. They wanted assurance that I would put that in my thesis.

The official opening of the Cairngorms National Park took place on September 1, 2003 and was marked by conservationists staging protests. As reported in *The Scotsman* (Aug. 28, 2003): "While the Deputy Minister of Rural Affairs and the great-great granddaughter of John Muir, the founder of the national park movement, are opening the park on Cairn Gorm, protesters will be making their own statements by ascending Carn Liath, a munro in Perthshire." The *Scotsman* reporter quotes PARC Chairman Bill Wright (who is also Chairman of the Cairngorms Campaign): "We feel it is important to mark the establishment of the national park. The case remains strong that the Perthshire part of the Cairngorms should be part of the park." In his view, the park should be extended by nearly 300 sq. miles. Further controversy had arisen over the opening when it was announced that the ceremony would be staged at the Ptarmigan restaurant, "at the top of the controversial funicular railway…some are planning to boycott next month's event, others are refusing to use the railway and several are intending to raise their concerns at the launch. The location was branded insulting by Mike Dales of the Mountaineering Council for Scotland as the funicular is a totally inappropriate place to launch a national park" (*Sunday Herald*, August 10, 2003). Interestingly, on the day itself, some of those on Carn Liath were "protesting the railway's closed system; a condition of planning consent for the railway that prevents visitors from walking to the mountain summit because of its sensitive environment" (*The Scotsman*, Sept. 2, 2003). This highlights the diversity within the group of protestors. All are agreed that the park boundaries were wrong, but they did not agree on the funicular. Conservationists support the closed system; many residents and frequent visitors to the Cairngorms do not.

In spite of Scottish Executive's repeated reiteration that their decision on the boundaries would stand lobbying from various sectors continued. For example, on

January 15, 2004, MSPs and other members of the Sports Council Cross Party Group met in Parliament (Edinburgh) to hear presentations from conservationist Bill Wright, representing the Cairngorms Campaign and LINK, and conservationist and author Cameron McNeish who were seeking support for the inclusion of Highland Perthshire within the national park boundaries. McNiesh's emotive, though at times inaccurate, presentation was followed by Wright's account of the actions taken to date and his case for the area's inclusion. Names of important personalities in conservation were invoked, including John Muir, referred to as 'the father of the environmentalism'; names of MSPs supporting the case, in particular the leader of the SNP party and the Green party, provided evidence of cross-party agreement on the issue. Once again the quest for World Heritage Site nomination was addressed; this time Robin Pellew's name was listed amongst the supporters, as he had once occupied a post with the IUCN where he had a hand in reviewing nominations. Sports Council Cross Party Group members who asked questions wanted to exhibit their experiential knowledge. The authority to ask a question had already been granted by membership in the Cross Party Group and certainly the presenters recognized this authority. However the ranks evidently felt the need to validate themselves. This resulted in questions being preceded by an account of the speaker's last trip to the Cairngorms and how valuable and unforgettable it was, demonstrating an affiliation and personal concern for the area, the intention being to be taken seriously by the presenter and the other Cross Party members in the room. Considerable patience was displayed as some speakers spent more time on rhetoric than on questions and had clearly more experience of speaking of the Cairngorms than actively engaging with them. As to the actual questions, these were on funding implications, on Highland Council's views on the inclusion of Highland Perthshire, on the National Park Authority's role and on

conservation problems with deer and forests. Herzfeld, speaking of environmental lobbying, points out that successful clients are those who manage to persuade their bureaucratic interrogators to accept that what makes their case different is that it belongs to the bureaucrats' own social world. Skilfully using bureaucratic discourse, they persuade the bureaucrats that they, the clients, are insiders (Herzfeld 1992:181). In this manner, Bill Wright made casual, but important, reference to his work with ministers to apply pressure for a Private Member's Bill to be placed before Parliament for acceptance before September 2004, when certain National Park Authority members' terms end and a new member from Perthshire could be included (the only other obvious option being to wait for the prescribed five-year review of the national park that will examine the planning powers and the boundaries). Otherwise, rhetoric on the personal and environmental benefits relating to the point of view being put forward appears to be the most effective tool for persuasion.

Discussion

The DDO boundaries had clearly been decided by senior officials in the minister's office without the assistance and against the advice of the SNH office in Aberdeen. Based on the established criteria and on existing community and sites boundaries, the boundaries were illogical. Gellner's comment on collective behaviour is relevant here:

> A collectivity united in a belief is a culture. That is what the term means. More particularly, a collective united in a false belief is a culture. Truths ... are available to all and sundry, and do not define any continuity of faith. But errors ... are culture-specific. They do tend to be the badges of community and loyalty. Assent to an absurdity is an intellectual rite de passage, a gateway

to the community defined by that commitment to that conviction (Gellner 1995: 6).

Epitomizing a culture of bureaucratic unity, civil servants from Edinburgh evidently drove through the Cairngorms and marked a boundary based on first-hand observation, adjusted to meet prescribed political requirements. Following direction from above to exclude certain areas they likely saw little sense in making an earnest effort to draw a 'better' boundary; it was a 'done deal'. The culture of bureaucratic unity prescribes that individuals at all levels looked upwards for justification of the boundary decision and to excuse their involvement. This culture was also invoked by non-bureaucrats. As already mentioned, I was asked by an MSP at the meeting called by the NTS and the RDC if I knew who had drawn the boundaries and why. Everyone in that room seemingly wanted to distance themselves from the unpopular decision, and attribute it to a vague and national bureaucratic structure – a structure that served to disguise those in power who were responsible. All this is in line with Yankelovich's list of obstacles to positive public participation: "Experts disagreeing amongst themselves in public, language used in a confusing way and strategies adopted that are insensitive to the public's need for credible solutions" (Yankelovich 1991: 93). The public reacts by becoming more cynical, more resentful and ever more removed from participation in decision-making (Yankelovich 1991: 244). Silence is their symbolic capital.

Specifically to the exclusion of Highland Perthshire, rumours continued to circulate that Highland Council was at the root of this decision, as inclusion would dilute their majority membership on the NPA, and thereby their influence. I had mixed emotions over the announcement of the boundary. First it was important for the purpose of my research as it elucidated certain capacities (and incapacities) at the

bureaucratic level; second if the rumours were true about Highland Council, it demonstrated the ability of politics to take precedence over the professed purpose of the national park that put conservation first. After months of subtle questioning I was able to confirm that the rumours of gerrymandering and political favouritism indeed reflected agreements being honoured (MSPs shared this information with me and I shall not name them).

The Cairngorms material, like the Banff material, is notable for the dissent expressed by a locally resident population, regarding park management and planning. The question raised in the case of Banff was whether such dissent was a mark of local disempowerment or whether it reflected incipient 'people power'. The Cairngorms situation suggests that the latter may be closer to the case. Through public pressure the Deer Commission of Scotland's exclusive authority over regional policies relating to deer management was overturned and matters to do with deer numbers returned to the regional deer management groups whose membership includes gamekeepers, and likewise the DDO's proposed boundaries for the park were changed, at least to some degree. Local successes, reflected in these events, was however significantly mediated by the efforts of elected representatives in the Scottish parliament, or else through alliances with other interested parties such as conservationists (in the case of boundary matters). The local voice can be heard, but only when working alongside other voices.

CHAPTER 11: CONCLUSION

To conclude the thesis I want to present findings about national parks that demonstrate the value of anthropological enquiry. These findings, resulting from the long-term field study of permanent park residents, environmentalist/ conservationists, scientists, and bureaucrats, focus on the several varied 'communities' socially implicated by the Banff and Cairngorms National Parks – their memberships may overlap to some small extent but all these groupings imagine themselves as discrete social entities with distinctive social values and discrete political and environmental priorities. As I intimated at the outset of this study the sociological work of Foucault and Bourdieu has especially inspired the way I have examined, recorded and presented my findings from the two parks, and now at the close of the study I find their writings as relevant as ever. Indeed a narrative about national parks can be presented persuasively by intertwining these writers' considerations of human social affairs more generally with the particular facts about the Cairngorms and Banff national parks. Through much of this conclusion such a narrative is what I have attempted to provide. It is divided into several sections, dealing with social issues that I believe merit consideration by all those interested in parks policy and practice.

Insiders and Outsiders

The various social agents implicated by national parks are frequently in conflict because parks simultaneously imply a place where people make a living and a place designated for protection because of its special physical and biological characteristics. Put in broadest terms contestation most strikingly occurs between 'insiders', long-term permanent residents for whom being in the park is a practical activity, and 'outsiders', such as scientists, conservationists, bureaucrats, and tourists,

who take various ideological positions regarding the park's purpose. Both sides take a serious interest in the park and how it is managed and regard it as a place where they are 'at home', yet their respective perceptions of space, place and boundary are inevitably very different. It is interesting that such division occurs in Banff no less than in the Cairngorms. Banff local residents, though present in the area only as a result of Banff National Park having been created, have, so to say, 'gone native', considering themselves to be an 'indigenous population' with interests commonly in opposition to those of other park stakeholders. The pertinence of the insider/outsider division is indicated by the ambiguous position of people who plainly fall between both 'camps', for example Cairngorms residents recently arrived in the area to take up retirement who are stigmatised by other permanent residents as 'incomers' whose motives should be treated with suspicion.

Against this background a national park's dual purpose - as a place to make a living and a place to preserve and protect - means that insiders very distinctively carry out daily life under surveillance. You are viewed as a 'national park resident' by those 'looking in' from the outside. You are viewed as a special type of national citizen; you enjoy a sense of privilege but equally you are liable to a sense of (national) duty. You are expected to share your local environment with millions of strangers, and you can be subjected to national and, at times, international criticism. Especially, if you are a landowner how you manage your land is everyone's business; your 'home' is available to others who do not share your sense of place. Accordingly, being an insider carries, as well as social prestige, substantial negative symbolic capital. Banff residents know that they are regarded by outsiders as greedy opportunists who have little regard for the environment, and residents in the Cairngorms are aware they are maligned for not caring properly for the landscape and

looked down on for being of lesser status than urban dwellers. There is no consolation in knowing that those who denigrate them in this way have their own vested interests, such as slowing development or restricting (what they consider to be) inappropriate use of park resources.

Insider/outsider relations do contrast as between the two parks in this study. A first difference concerns the overlap between natural landscapes and natural social communities. Park boundaries, largely determined by geographical and biological features, are not always commensurate with local social boundaries. This is notable in the Cairngorms where (quite apart from the political manipulation of the park boundary) the central massif divides two quite distinct social areas – to the west and to the east – between which overland transport connections are difficult. For residents in these two areas the park's rhetoric of inclusion has the (opposite) effect of heightening a sense of separation and localness, so strengthening the wider symbolic boundary between insiders and outsiders. This issue does not arise in Banff where all human habitation is in a valley corridor in the 'centre' of the park. The second difference concerns whether or not an indigenous population was resident in the park area before the park was designated. My impression is that the insider/outsider divide is relatively less marked in Banff because in this park insiders, or their immediate ancestors, knowingly and purposefully located in a national park community having come from elsewhere. Meanwhile Cairngorms insiders and their ancestors have pursued often subsistence livelihoods in the area for generations and are not an established part of a park culture. In the Cairngorms, even as the park was introduced to resolve conflict relating to the protection of Scotland's main landscape icon, the park's designation has paradoxically only gone to increase insider/outsider and rural/urban tensions.

For some commentators the issue behind such social division revolves around whether national park land is publicly owned (as occurs in Banff) or privately owned (as is the case in the Cairngorms). By placing the lands in the hands of the national citizenry, does public ownership mitigate the social division between insider and outsider? Robert Bish notes that public ownership facilitates environmental resource management, but argues that the most critical matter is that users of park resources tend not to see that their use imposes a cost on others (Bish 1998: 73-4). Thus the public needs to know that public ownership does not mean that "every member of the public can use the resources as often and as much as they want" (ibid). Bish concludes that a difference between public and private resource management is usually meaningless in determining how a resource will be used or preserved (ibid.). The respective prejudices of insiders and outsiders are, in short, unaffected by the mode of ownership. This is supported by the present study. For example, Banff's and the Cairngorm's different circumstance regarding ownership is irrelevant to the public's perceptions of the dual purpose of national parks: to outsiders the two parks are equally seen as having been created to meet the nation's needs for resource protection and their and future generation's enjoyment.

Conceptions of the Environment

This study reports on a variety of conceptions about the how human beings relate to nature and the environment. Different conceptions to some extent correlate with different categories of people (residents, scientists, etc). In turn, different ideas relating to the purpose and worth of national parks call upon these different conceptions. Two dualisms are especially worth noting, referring respectively to sources of knowledge about the environment and to the specifications of this knowledge. First there is the distinction between experiential and scientific

knowledge. When daily activity within the environment is the basis of knowledge about the environment we are referring to experiential knowledge, when scientific research methods are the basis of knowledge we are speaking of scientific knowledge. As to what such environmental knowledge (experiential or scientific) specifies a major distinction is between anthropocentric knowledge and biocentric knowledge. The former presumes that humans, enjoying a special standing in relation to the organic and inorganic world, may assume a mastery over the environment, the latter that humans, not entitled to such standing, should submit themselves to the logics of natural processes. It is important to note that there is no intrinsic connection or correlation between the two dualisms. For example, experiential knowledge can uphold either anthropocentric or biocentric conclusions, and the same can be said about scientific knowledge. Thus scientific biocentric viewpoints were mostly heard from some environmentalist/ conservationists and some bureaucrats, generally in connection with agendas resisting economic development in the parks; scientific anthropocentric viewpoints were meanwhile voiced, again by bureaucrats, in connection with advocating economic development. Meanwhile many park residents, especially those who had lived in the park for decades and whose livelihoods had brought them intimately into contact with the environment (farmers, gamekeepers), upheld experiential anthropocentric knowledge. For them human management of the environment might be desirable and possible, but facts gleaned from years of practical activity should in this regard enjoy equal if not superior standing to facts secured from scientific research. (First Nations peoples in Canada, it may be added, uphold experiential biocentric conceptions). Much of the contestation described in this study regarding the worth, purpose and direction of national park was voiced in discourse marked by some combination of elements from these two dualisms.

Where the management of resources in a park is concerned scientific knowledge tends to be relatively interventionist – management should follow some pre-conceived plan - mostly in relation to human activity within the park. This includes management directed towards restoring the park environment to a pristine wilderness where biocentric laws may be allowed to take their course. Meanwhile experiential knowledge, sustaining a conception that environmental management should flexibly be determined in relation to every-changing daily circumstances, invites a much less interventionist approach. The latter type of knowledge bespeaks of a muted enthusiasm for the values and policies relating to national parks. Notable examples of contestation from Cairngorms and Banff revolve around the opposition between experiential conceptions (as voiced by residents) and scientific conceptions (voiced by outsiders). Thus Atholl residents in the Cairngorms were not especially concerned with whether or not their area fell within or outside the park; the matter of park boundaries was something that much more strongly detained outsiders. In Lake Louise (Banff) park managers and other outsiders are keen to fence off wildlife, such as grizzly bears, keeping it separate from the human community. Though advocating this in the name of protecting the wildlife this policy replicates in the park a quasi-urban domain which is both highly managed and contrived to accomplish areas of exclusive human occupancy. For their part, residents, having learned in daily life to live alongside wildlife, are sceptical of the value of such artificial containment.

<u>The construction of environmental truths</u>

Contestation relating to policy in national parks involves rival agents invoking different facts and circumstances about the environment as 'truth'. As Foucault and Bourdieu taught such truth is constructed. For Foucault truth lies not in what is said but in how it is said. Accordingly ideas are adopted as truths because they come from

those who possess certain types of knowledge, particularly when this is scientific or technical knowledge (Foucault 1970: 10-11, 1972: 46; Sheridan 1980: 122-3).[59] For Bourdieu truth is confirmed in power arising from knowledge that claims to offer an exclusive perspective on things. But some agents, better equipped with symbolic capital and better versed in appropriate discourse, are more able to purvey their particular truths than others.[60] Again, academic knowledge is especially potent in this regard and academic qualifications are crucial symbolic capital. Bourdieu maintains that pedagogic authority is a symbolic violence, involving exclusion and censorship; the notion of schooling as a neutral process entails that the dominant culture comes to be (mis)recognised as legitimate by subordinate classes (Bourdieu 1977: 61-9, 187; Jenkins 1992: 107-8). In the parks context bureaucrats and scientists are in this respect more advantaged than local residents in influencing the direction of park policy. Thus non-resident parties deploying 'expert/academic' knowledge hold sway over local residents who deploy first hand/practical knowledge, inculcating in the latter a sense of disempowerment. Accordingly, in Banff the scientific and academic voice clearly dominated the Banff Bow Valley Study roundtable process and the Panel on the Ecological Integrity of Canada's National Parks, the results of both having significant impact on park management. Parks Canada's deference to science,

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[59] In societies like ours the "political economy" of truth is characterised by five historically important traits: "truth" is centred on the form of scientific discourse and the institution which produce it; it is subject to a constant economic and political incitation (the demand for truth as much for the economic production as for political power); it is the object, in diverse forms, of an immense diffusion and consumption (it circulates in apparatuses of education and information whose extent is relatively wide within the social body, not withstanding certain strict limitation); it is produced and transmitted under the control , dominant if not exclusive, of that few great political or economic apparatuses (university, army, writing , media...); lastly, it is the stake of a whole political debate and social confrontation (ideological struggles) (Foucault 1979:46).

[60] "Taken as an event...a discourse involves much more than the creation and transmission of meaning, it finds itself linked to a field of non-discursive phenomena as well as to expressed forms of thought" (Racevskis 1983: 90).

exploiting the sense in the wider population that scientific knowledge is unchallengeable, automatically excludes other types of knowledge from the discussion and sets the terms of debate.

In both parks potent symbolic capital is built around the link between parks, nationhood and family - parks are symbols of the nation, all citizens own national parks, and parks exist for the benefit of future generations. Bureaucrats, invoking such ideas, claim as truth the fact of the environment as a system at risk in the long term, and deny the truths advanced by local residents based on experiential knowledge which questions such danger. Scientists meanwhile appeal to the research method, which commands general respect in the wider society, and thus silence the voice of local residents whose experiential knowledge is not available to inspection by such method. One recalls the Banff scientist requested by a member of the audience for more information on his research technique replying that this would be a waste of time for both of them as clearly the questioner would not be able to comprehend his explanation.

But scientific discourse itself calls upon crucial symbolic ideas to advance its power. Like environmentalism science plays upon images of the threatened national park and nature, prompting emotional reactions that motivate park managers to implement immediate mitigating actions. Constructed as icons of the Canadian and Scottish wilderness, animals such as the bear, the wolf, the elk and the capercaillie are in this way selectively invoked in conservation discourse, and come, as 'charismatic mega-fauna', to hold special appeal to the wider public. Such species, represented as endangered, have anthropomorphic and arresting appearance or habits - "while a drab bird may be endangered, majestic and colourful birds offer the best photo opportunities" (Yearly 1993: 66). The Banff Springs snail is officially listed

internationally as an endangered species, but it receives little to no press coverage or focussed concern compared to the local grizzly population, which is not so listed. Headlines marking charismatic species' 'rapid decline' are more apt to spark a supportive response from the public than one that marks the disappearance of a snail. For all this, such mission driven agendas can become negative symbolic capital when presented too blatantly to an 'informed' audience.

As noted, Bourdieu maintains that truths are imposed by the dominant class. In the parks situation managerial processes exemplify this: Cairngorms management upholds the notion of 'cohesive identity' in defence of its version of park boundaries and Banff management speaks of 'ecological integrity' regarding restrictions on park use. Yet one notes shifts in parks policy over time, and this reflects changes in what counts as truth – Banff was once a 'park for profit', now it is a 'park for protection'. The fact of the matter is that the background of environmental risk lying behind parks policy provides space for competing versions of truth that come to be offered by competing interest groups involved in parks affairs. These competing versions engender mutual mistrust between the agents concerned. Scientific truth thus appeals to certain professional standards and to neutrality regarding political advocacy. Environmentalists' truths are based in ideology and environmental ethics. Local residents' truths are based in on experiential knowledge. And bureaucratic truths derive directly from processes of the state. Important dimensions of contestation focused around these four agents in turn are examined in the following sections.

Science, language and the muting of local opinion

Foucault and Bourdieu, attending to the structure of social domination, describe how the dominant class and the elite uphold their ascendancy through the strategic use of language. In these writers' view, people in dominant social positions,

intrinsically to their class dispositions, or habitus, embed themselves in discourse with which is associated a distinctive linguistic character; this linguistic character conveys their social position and competency - every spoken interaction bears the traces of the social structure and the respective 'habitus' (Bourdieu 1991:2). For Bourdieu, cultural and linguistic unification is accompanied by the imposition of the dominant language (discourse) and culture as legitimate and the rejection of other languages (discourses) and cultures. Within this unity people are subordinated who, typically through lack of education, fail to meet a sufficient standard in the dominant language (Bourdieu 1998: 47).[61] As noted above, Foucault and Bourdieu argue that these processes entail that such subordination meets with a large measure of acceptance. In this way in the Cairngorms and Banff context the muting of local voice is mediated through, in combination, the prestige of 'expert' language and the connotations of 'received pronunciation'.

In the national parks context expert language *par excellence* is the language of science. Foucault's notion of *savoir* refers to knowledge in the scientific sense and beyond, connoting not only knowledge in the manner of scientific propositions but also, more importantly, knowledge that is "more like a postulated set of rules determining what kinds of sentences are going to count as true or false in (the scientific) domain" (Foucault 1986: 30). Meanwhile *connaissance* stands for items of surface knowledge, local knowledge or experiential knowledge. According to Foucault, in any society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected,

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[61] Bourdieu points out that the members of the upper class had everything to gain from the policy of linguistic unification that accompanied the French Revolution. This policy was part of Condilla's theory of the purification of thought through the purification of language, giving the upper class a de facto monopoly on political power. Recognition of an official language and a national language meant that those who already possess competency in the national language dominated those who did not. This normalization and legitimisation of one type of discourse was promoted through the education system and the labour market. Education standards dictated access to the labour market that was ranked according to an individual's educational qualifications (Thompson 1991:6-7).

organized and redistributed according to a number of procedures. Clearly relevant to the parks situation, in spoken exchange, such as public meetings, "the kind of competence that actual speakers possess is not a capacity to generate an unlimited sequence of grammatically well formed sentences but rather a capacity to produce expressions which are appropriate for particular situations" (Bourdieu 1991: 7). Those who speak, moulding their expressions or sentences in accord with the relative power between speaker and hearer, must ensure that they are entitled to speak under the circumstances; but those who listen must reckon that those who speak are worthy of attention (ibid.: 8; O'Neill 2002: 45).[62] Accordingly, in discussion on parks matters in the public arena scientific discourse exerts its authority, in favour of the scientist, through the limitations and exclusions implied by science's written and verbal technical language. In both the Cairngorms and Banff the local voice is muted and discounted by 'expert' voices. Here the most obvious procedure of exclusion, clearly evident in parks' public consultation exercises, is prohibition. Scientists assume exclusive rights to be heard, and, as to the public, "We know very well that we are not free to say anything, that we cannot speak of anything when and where we like, and that just anyone, in short cannot speak of just anything" (Foucault 1970: 10).

The use of received pronunciation and/or local dialect, giving the speaker a social ranking based on education and family history, accentuates the force of expert language, especially in the Cairngorms. In Britain received pronunciation (middle class or upper middle inflection, which does not connote an association with a particular region of the country) is the language in which scientific statements are heard, and in the Cairngorms it is the typical language of the laird, the outsider and

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[62] Bourdieu notes other symbolic devices – uniforms, ritual expressions, respectful references – that comprise the social accoutrements by which the speaker aligns with institutional power (Bourdieu 1991: 7). In the parks context these might be profitably explored in future research.

the recently arrived wealthy resident (incomer). It is the language of authority. Permanent Cairngorms residents may meanwhile be identified through their local dialect. So it was that the Cairngorms community councillor described himself as the local yokel who no one wanted to listen to. This language dimension was partly reflected in Scottish Natural Heritage concerns that public consultation would be unfairly influenced when local residents resisted giving opinions that differed from those of the lairds. Rather differently, Banff is characteristic of many Canadian communities[63] and other recently settled landscapes in that it is made up of a patchwork quilt of peoples from all corners of the globe. In Canada dialect differences may be remarked upon, but they do not clearly identify people with distinctive layers of privilege and domination.

Environmentalism's intolerance

Environmentalism/conservationism enjoys enormous symbolic capital in relation to national parks. As a political force determined to protect the natural environment its values are to a large degree replicated in the rationale for national parks, and they also resonate a good deal with concerns about the environment felt by many ordinary people. Also environmentalism in its campaigns invokes scientific knowledge. In consequence, in relation to national parks environmentalism claims a high moral ground. Sensitive to political agendas, environmentalism's political activities are as lobbyist and watchdog (Harries-Jones 1993: 44). The first, capitalising on the favourable image of 'green politics' with many urban voters, involves influential spokespersons presenting initiatives, petitions and appeals at the highest parliamentary level, and the second, reflecting the importance of media

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[63] But what is noticeable in Banff is the imposition of both the official Canadian languages (English and French) on all government documents and signs. As Banff is situated on government owned and operated lands, this legislated requirement is more obvious than in other Canadian communities.

campaigning, has to do with scrutiny of government action (or inaction), including making sure that government information comes from reliable sources.

Given environmentalism's global discourse, notably in the context of a reliance on the media to get its message across, it is perhaps not surprising that environmental groups in the Cairngorms and Banff are quite similar in terms of their activities and strategies, such that I found I could rather easily match members of the Banff environmental community with members of the Cairngorms conservation community. Also since environmental pressure groups are not like businesses competing for a market (Yearly 1993:67) they cooperate a great deal even within the one area, where many supporters are willing to join more than one group (as evident with Scottish LINK). Instances exist when groups disagree on how issues should be approached and who should have the dominant voice; there is recognition, however, that an image of a united, representative stand involving several organizations working together in an alliance comprises major symbolic capital that increases political clout and influences environmental policy. Thus Perthshire Alliance for the Real Cairngorms, a coalition of conservation organizations, was formed in response to the national park boundary dispute. And the Bow Valley Grizzly Bear Alliance was formed to bolster protests against the Chateau Lake Louise Conference Centre. In both places their support added weight to the environmental organizations already engaged in the debate. The creation of new groups, moreover, is ongoing – and does not rely upon a large membership to 'make the list'. The Cairngorms Campaign, for example, has just a single 'active' member who lobbies government agencies and elected officials in conjunction with other organizations.

Claiming a moral high ground, environmental groups are frequently absolutist in their approach. Notwithstanding their altruistic stance (regarding saving the

planet), environmentalists seem uncompromisingly determined not to surrender to the values and symbolic capital of 'others'. Their particular aim is not letting local agendas and interests guide or override global (or, in the case of both Cairngorms and Banff, national) agendas and interests. Indeed for some environmentalists outsmarting other interest groups is apparently more important than working towards what is best for the environment. Finding sufficient loopholes in the park managers' environmental assessment in order to postpone the prescribed burn in Banff is one example. Conservationists carrying the banner against local planning powers in the Cairngorms may be another, as one wonders whether this is about caring for the environment or about who sits in the seat of park planning power. To advance their agendas and attract media attention, environmentalists and conservationists speak of 'parks in peril', 'threatened species', 'human-caused decimation of park resources'. But their facts can often be refuted - when actual numbers of species are shown as being buoyant and when the predicted catastrophes do not occur.

In sum pervasive conflict is fostered between environmentalists and park residents, which contradicts parks' discourse of collaboration and partnership. Many residents in both the national parks studied in this thesis are actively, though sometimes unconsciously, involved in nature conservation. For example in the Cairngorms, where three-quarters of the landowners have some form of conservation management scheme in place, communities including Laggan, Newtonmore and Birse have community trusts founded on a conservation ethic. And in Banff, where the majority of people have consciously moved to a national park and hence have a prior expectation of a lifestyle that engages with (often) stringent environmental policies, residents are constantly aware of their conservation duties. Yet residents continuously bear the brunt of harsh criticism from environmentalists, along the lines of: "Farmers

in the Cairngorms are not capable of conserving the resources", "The communities in the park are not equipped to manage a special area", and "Banff residents are opportunists who are more interested in making a fast buck than caring for the environment."

Science and Bureaucracy Under Challenge: the Local Residents' Voice

Foucault's and Bourdieu's theories of non-violent domination, focusing on how, through exclusive discourse or processes of education, a dominant class secures its position, allow little room for the dominated to contest the prevailing power structure and genuinely change it. Along these lines, Foucault's theory of normalizing judgement, premised on (the dominated) individual's fear of being seen to act inappropriately, has been mentioned from time to time in this thesis in connection with national park policies concerning trail closures and other restrictions. As an internal mechanism of power normalizing judgement permits punishment for non-conformity and penance for bad behaviour, complemented by award and privileges for good conduct and practices. However, contra Bourdieu and Foucault, normalizing judgement clearly functions imperfectly. In national parks restrictions and regulations that to tourists and local residents 'don't make sense' prompt civil disobedience. Thus in Banff the group-of-six rule for hiking in the Moraine Lake area was widely ignored. In the case of local residents experiential knowledge offers a logic and truth that, in such circumstances, prompts them to take power into their own hands. Significantly, in the Cairngorms domination by scientists and bureaucrats is clearly tempered in the fact that the majority of members of the National Park Authority are local people elected or appointed on the basis of their long-standing knowledge of the area and of prevailing local issues.

Foucault's discussion of science in fact anticipates the possibility of it being

met with suspicion and rejection in the population at large. For Foucault, as a distinctive 'regime' in discourse and knowledge (Foucault 1979:31) science is a specific type of truth game related to specific techniques that human beings use to understand themselves. This allows for the possibility of constituting rival politics of truth (Foucault 1994:224, Foucault 1979: 47). Indeed debate within the scientific community, relating to the fact that scientifically acceptable propositions can be verified or falsified by scientific procedures, anticipates this. My observations are that scientists' criticisms of one another's methodologies and of the way research findings are used were accomplished in very much the same manner in Scotland and Canada. Within the scientific community in general experts compete for power using similar knowledge, so, to advance personal agendas and suppress rivals' agendas, they draw on skills in the manipulation of language, icons, personal connections, and the media. For example in the Cairngorms the question of deer fencing to assist with forest regeneration divides scientific experts. Some say fences are needed to keep browsing deer from destroying young trees, while accepting that fences can endanger capercaillie which fly into them. Others maintain that instead of fencing a dramatic increase in deer culling is the way to protect the forests. Scientists from each side secure the support of influential environmental organisations that air the respective views in the media and appeal emotively to the public for support. I have mentioned already that symbolic notions relating to 'disappearing species' are invariably invoked in these contexts.

Foucault certainly underlines the difficulty for local people, embedded in experiential knowledge, to translate their dissent from bureaucratic and scientific policy into real local power. In the Cairngorms and in Banff growing public criticism of the political and opportunistic use of 'scientific expertise' challenges policy-makers

in a most immediate and fundamental way as it challenges what the latter regards as truth. But dominant sectors, as we have seen, entrench their own regimes of truth, maintaining and justifying them in powerfully appropriate discourse and language. Hence, according to Foucault, "the problem [for dissenters] is not changing people's consciousness - or what's in their heads – but the political, economic, and institutional regimes of the production of truth" (Foucault 1980:133). It is not a question of emancipating truth from every system of power - which would be a chimera, because truth is already itself power - but of detaching the power of truth from the forms of hegemony (social, economic and cultural) within which it operates at the present time. With regard to national parks I take from this the lesson that for local knowledge to come more fully to hold sway requires highly dramatic and arresting circumstances such that dominant regimes of truth stand to be dislodged.

Democratic political systems can provide precisely such circumstance when elected representatives are subject to highly vocal, and sometimes flamboyant, lobbying. Then the national park agenda can find it convenient to promote the interests of the typically dominated group, namely the residents. An example from Banff was the decision to continue summer use at the ski area in Lake Louise. Parks Canada, which normally upholds academic and scientific 'proof' to justify its decisions, submitted to residents' knowledge and expertise. Scientific advice, which promoted closing the area, was not taken on board carte blanche, and instead a subjective review of the actual incidents in the area and the benefits to the local economy was given more due. In the case of the Cairngorms the fact that one of the park's formal aims referred to the sustainability of the local social and economic system certainly helped with regard to allowing the local voice to be heard. Thus the Scottish Executive, in spite of enthusiastic lobbying by conservationists, stuck to their

original promise to leave planning powers with the local authorities; the empowerment of local people have resulted from an outbreak of political realism. Yet for all this, local victories such as this are more often partial victories, as the manoeuvrings relating to the final delineation of the Cairngorms park boundaries illustrate, where despite boundaries being changed in favour of local people's wishes Highland Perthshire was still excluded. Also the possibility must be allowed that local agendas can come to be met less because of submission to residents' symbolic capital and more because out of coincidence they have resulted from manoeuvrings at a higher level. This latter situation is mentioned later.

Bureaucracy and public suspicion

In park management, power is vested in authorities legitimated through their adherence to proper practices. These practices are bureaucratic practices, where, as Weber taught, the expectation is that authorities treat clients in an unbiased and unemotional manner. In the case of national parks, management, almost by definition, is incorporated as an aspect of the state, which has assumed the responsibility for protecting certain environmental resources on behalf of the citizenry and laying down the relevant prescriptions and mandates. But bureaucratic structures differ as between the two parks investigated in this study. In Banff National Park, park management is directly an arm of the broader government bureaucracy, but in the Cairngorms matters are more complex for as well as government bureaucracy, some degree of official authority regarding park processes has been granted to numerous semi-autonomous agencies.

The relation between the state and bureaucracy is intriguing. Through bureaucracy the state exposes itself to scrutiny by the wider population. And the state's vulnerability in this regard is clear from the scepticism that much bureaucratic

activity arouses. State power is accordingly more transparent in the case of its bureaucratic arm, and in the parks context management's determination to control the activities of other park stakeholders is patent. A stronger, better-equipped state implies a stronger, safer and better environment for its citizens. Accordingly, surveillance techniques such as trail counters and visitor exit surveys (learning where the most-used areas in the park are and where to direct information and marketing strategies) provide the state with information on park visitors that is then used to 'manage human use'. This often results in regulation and prohibition compliance with which is 'secured' by processes of 'normalizing judgement' (as mentioned earlier). In support of this the rhetoric, from audit, of 'quality control' and 'proper practice' importantly offers appropriate discourse. Similarly to these processes, the appropriation of care for visitors' personal safety in Banff National Park harkens to what Foucault calls the pastoral power of the state, whereby government may be "understood as an activity that undertakes to conduct individuals throughout their lives by placing them under the authority of a guide responsible for what they do and for what happens to them" (Foucault 1997:67). In this vein, multilingual signs warning that glacial crevasses are dangerous, the construction of guardrails at scenic view points and near cliffs and, in particular, the instance of law suits filed against the crown following human injury caused by natural geographic hazards and wildlife, demonstrate the shift from reliance on personal authority and responsibility over one's body to a dependence upon state authority and responsibility. Here, power and knowledge in modern state structure are linked through the effects of an 'examination mechanism' that coerces by means of observation: park management acquires knowledge about park users and park residents and then utilizes this knowledge in disciplines that produce subjected and practiced 'docile' bodies (cf. Foucault

1977:138, 1979:205). For Foucault this goes to fortify the reason for the state and provides the rationale necessary to increase the forces of the state from within.

State vulnerability regarding the disciplining of its subjects is in the national parks context especially apparent in matters of public consultation. Public consultation amounts to an exercise in bureaucratic fairness with regard to a park's multifarious clients (tourists, local residents, land owners, local businesses). But, from the parks management perspective it is obviously a double-edged sword. Too much consultation can deliver a political momentum which subverts state/management interests, too little consultation can see the general public withdraw its support from management activity. This was all too obvious in the case of the various phases of consultation leading to the designation of Cairngorms National Park. Given the standards implied by term, consultation led by Scottish Natural Heritage was impressive, and successful, and employed methods I sincerely hope will be utilized in new Canadian national parks. However, the Scottish Executive in its subsequent consultation on the *Draft Designation Order* did not follow through in the same manner, and effectively undid the progress made by SNH and the communities. It also served to confirm doubts in the public mind about Scottish Executive's ability to deal in a genuine manner with local residents' interests and concerns. In the event bureaucracy, at both park and the wider national level, was the subject of chronic criticism in both Banff and the Cairngorms. Indeed distrust of the bureaucracy invariably unifies the various 'other' sectors with their otherwise competing interests regarding engagement in park lands. Thus in Banff in spite of the annual management forum and other public consultation processes, serious doubts are continuously raised as to whether Parks Canada's efforts at including these other interests are genuine. And in both Banff and the Cairngorms there are suspicions that the language in public

consultation documents and the timing of events is gauged to exclude meaningful all-round participation. There is a feeling of disempowerment. To remedy this, residents in both parks will need to observe and learn to effectively deploy a wide range of symbolic capital. The more residents know about the other agents and their forms of engagement, the better-prepared they are to take a balanced and reasoned stand.

The Political Context

The fact that national parks are intrinsic to a wider state structure means that parks policy is caught up with and influenced by political activity that transcends parks' social and geographic boundaries. In particular the formulation of much policy results from compromises and 'political exchanges' stemming from the state's need, on behalf of social order, to reconcile competing interests, whether these directly relate to park affairs or whether they are incidental to them. Despite the economic metaphor, 'interest' in this regard is "always determined culturally and may not be 'material' or 'economic' in the narrow sense" (Gledhill 1994: 143). Dominating the transactions regarding both Banff and the Cairngorms are exchanges of political favours. For example, in the Cairngorms the *Draft Designation Order* boundaries reflected a trade off between Scottish Executive and Highland Council, ensuring the latter's support for the very idea of a park through permitting it to assume majority representation on all aspects of the park management that involved local authorities. Similarly in the case of securing approval for a conference centre at the Chateau Lake Louise in Banff National Park which would increase economic benefit to Canadian Pacific and Fairmont Hotels, Parks Canada secured ownership of lands in the valley bottom previously held by Canadian Pacific.

According to Bourdieu, formal (democratic) politics engage in a type of game that has logic of its own (Gledhill 1994:134), and political domination results from the

"indirect effect of a complex set of actions engendered within the network of intersecting constraints" (Bourdieu 1998: 34). This highlights the fact that professional politicians cannot compete for power against one another without mobilizing non-professionals, and political party orientation can only be translated into winning political strategies when it converges with the strategies of groups outside the political field itself (Bourdieu 1991:188). Obvious examples of such latter groups in the parks context are those lobbying on behalf of the interests of local residents. Also, politicians try to emulate the values held by their constituents - to appear to have what Bourdieu calls the 'the feel for the game'. Thus the Scottish Executive's Rural Development Committee made a considerable effort to draw local people into the debate on the Cairngorms Park boundaries by taking its meetings to the community. Another example was the discussion in the Scottish Parliament on the nomination of the Cairngorms for World Heritage status. MSPs expressed their personal attachment to the Cairngorms area in long eloquent descriptions of their favourite spots - though not all managed to correctly pronounce the places' names. Much the same was repeated during the Sports Council Cross Party Group meeting, with members recalling their recent trips to the Cairngorms. As well, the symbolic capital of knowing 'the right people' became evident as the presenters/lobbyists at the meeting invoked the names of important personalities in the conservation movement.

But political imperatives can have a downside. National parks comprise national symbolic capital and a major constraint on politicians is being seen to engage with this capital. For example politicians controlling the Scottish Executive in order to fulfil a previous election promise concluded it was crucial that the Cairngorms National Park be designated before the following general election; hence there was barely any time for the thorough and thoughtful investigation into the boundaries

specified in the *Draft Designation Order* that was ideally required. In the end, MSPs voted along party lines and accepted the boundaries as proposed. Regarding Banff National Park, Parks Canada's Minister, in order to cement her image as St. Sheila of the Parks, won publicity in the eyes of Canada as a whole by taking action in respect of supposed crises in the park, ordering the restriction of development within the town of Banff and the reduction of town boundaries. However, those who enthusiastically supported her actions lived thousands of miles away from Banff and were relatively uniformed about the actual state of the park.

The Local versus the National

A chief aim of this thesis on national parks is an enquiry into the extent to which governments and park managers are sensitive to the concerns of permanent residents when formulating and executing parks policy. In effect the question sets as its criterion an ideal value - that the local should inform the national. The initial, somewhat pessimistic reply is that in both Cairngorms National Park and Banff National Park the residents' voice is in fact seriously compromised. Yet in the Cairngorms the residents' voice is clearly better heard and more respected than in Banff. With regard to Banff, Agrawal and Gibson's comment about local communities seems apposite: "The concept of community is rarely defined or carefully examined by those concerned with resource use and management" (Agrawal and Gibson 1999: 629). Thus the Cairngorms National Park Authority is instituted to engage with local communities, but authorities in Banff National Park are not. The Cairngorms management has to respond to other agencies (such as conservationist bodies) and, by virtue of the National Park Authority's membership composition, with local communities directly. In my view the Cairngorms situation marks considerable progress in terms of national park management. In light of this it was disappointing

when the UK branch of the IUCN decided at the World Congress that rather than recognize the Cairngorms National Park designation as an important event, they would promote a project to take members of ethnic minorities from Glasgow for days out in the Highland hills. I cannot explain this except to recall earlier comments from an IUCN official who saw conflict and problems in the Cairngorms that the existence of a national park could not resolve: thus it was better for the IUCN to distance itself from the park. If I am right IUCN bureaucracy took steps here to be risk-averse, but at the same time it missed an important opportunity.

In the Cairngorms, a member of CRAGG would ask, each time we met, if I saw things differently. Had my initial expectations changed or was I still harbouring my naïve vision for the new national park in the Highlands where the protection of the environment could be delivered *and* local needs and concerns be influential in parks policy? The last time we met I told him that the goal posts are the same but the game is being played differently: my vision could still be met, but because of political machinations and imperatives the route would be more tortuous. I know he is more cynical than I, as he has expressed his view that the park is set up for failure. Cairngorms National Park managers do, certainly, have impressive challenges ahead of them – the completion of a national park plan being an important one. The repeated comments from members of the Cairngorms NPA indicate as much: "This will take time – and we will make mistakes." These people are certainly aware of the level of expectation upon them. It seems unfair that the Cairngorms National Park was 'sold' using the 'Christmas tree' approach of something for everyone. The lack of clear purpose for the park will plague these new national park managers much as it has those in Banff National Park. However, I continue to be positive and impressed with many of the changes to the 'traditional' national park model that are being

implemented in Scotland. New national parks, in whatever country, *will* have residents – it is a geographic and demographic impossibly to continue to designate unpopulated lands. In future I expect to see the further evolution of values relating to social utility regarding priorities in national parks. National Parks have for a long time functioned as barometers of a nation's conservation concerns, invoked in the international arena to secure prestige and approval. Now, in dual-mandated parks like the Cairngorms, values connected with nationalism and environmental ethics will have explicitly to be reconciled with values connected with local livelihoods. Managers will need a better understanding of the complex social nature of national parks in order to deal with the potential conflicts that this implies.

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